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AND
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HINTS ON COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

[THE following article contains reflections deeply interesting to our whole country. If we mistake not, it is from the pen of the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge of Baltimore. The liberal and candid, we are sure, will not hold us responsible for every sentence and sentiment in every article which may appear in our pages, for our object is not simply to express our own views, but to afford the materials of thought and investigation to humane and honourable men, on a question of largest consequence to our national welfare and the improvement and destiny of our whole coloured population. We recommend this essay to the consideration of all who would ascertain the truth. It contains much which is sound in principle, Christian in sentiment, and logical in argument.]

They who are wise enough to place implicit confidence in the statements of the Bible, as to the origin of the human race, find no difficulty in tracing the three distinct races of men who inhabit this vast continent to the patriarch Noah, as the second head and progenitor of mankind. Nor is the difficulty great, to reach the assurance that the three sons of that patriarch were respectively the heads of the three races which surround us: all things concurring to prove that the North American Indians are of Asiatic, that is of Shemitish origin, whilst the origin of the white and black races is not only matter of familiar knowledge and full experience, but is stamped upon the very aspects and lineaments of the beings themselves, in characters which time is not able to erase. Indeed we think we see in the very state of things which are passing before us, the evidence of the truth of God, in the exact fulfilment of a prophecy, which, from the distance of forty-two centuries, seems to point steadfastly to us. "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." This is very remarkable; and as far as we know, has been true no where else but here; and true no where, if its statements were reversed. Shem has not ruled Ham, in the tents of Japheth; nor Ham either of them in the tents of the other; nor Japheth, been served by Ham in the tents of Shem, any where but in this western hemisphere. God enlarged Japheth, until he hath stretched himself over the tents of Shem, and the liberties of Ham; the double plunderer of both his brethren.

With only one of these races, it is our purpose now to occupy these pages; having reference to a second race only so far as their high interests or clear duties may implicate them in the discussion; and dismissing the third from our thoughts as not now particularly concerned. For, although the question of colonization has not only been made, but matured and executed as to considerable portions of the Indian race; it is obvious that it stands upon wholly different grounds from the same question as applied to the African race.

The African race in the United States, at this time, does not vary much in amount from two millions and a half of persons. Of these, something more than two millions are slaves, and the remainder admitted to a very limited state of freedom. This race is again capable of another division, which, though generally overlooked, is of no inconsiderable consequence; the division we mean into unmixed Africans, and coloured persons originally of African origin, but more or less mixed with the white race. No means have been used to ascertain the precise number of mulattoes in this country; but they undoubtedly amount to many thousands of people, scattered through all the States, varying through all possible grades of complexion between black and white, and yet forming unitedly a distinct, powerful and remarkable class of beings. By the laws of the slaveholding States, any person whose veins contain as much as one quarter of African blood is technically called a mulatto, and is considered and

treated in all respects as if he were black. The question, as to the right of freedom, upon the mere fact of having less than a fourth part of African blood; that is, being neither a black nor a mulatto, but a *white man*; (such are so by these laws) and as such, per se, free, has not, we believe, been yet made in our courts as a legal question. Nor is it our province to say how it will be decided when made; but if the law be construed to favour freedom, as all law pretends to do, there are multitudes of persons now held in bondage, who will go free. This whole class of mulattoes is to be considered and treated as distinct from the blacks.— They consider themselves so; the blacks consider them so; and all who have opportunity of comparing the two cannot doubt that the former are the more active, intelligent and enterprising of the two. They look upwards, not downwards. They are constantly seeking, and acquiring too, the privileges of the whites; and cases are within our own knowledge where persons of respectability, in nearly every walk of life, have sprung within the memory of man from this mixed race. For all the purposes of this discussion therefore, this race may be left out of the question, or rather considered as united, for its ultimate destiny, with the whites rather than the blacks; to the former of which they are far the most assimilated in constitution and in character.

The unmixed race of coloured persons, may, as has been already indicated of the whole race, be divided into two very unequal masses, the smaller embracing free persons, the larger slaves; unitedly forming about a sixth part of the entire population of the Republic.— What is to be the destiny of these multitudes of human beings? What influence can we exert over their present and everlasting interest? What connexion has their destiny with ours? and with that of the world? These are questions which we cannot escape; which we ought to meet and examine and decide with the carefulness and candour and firmness becoming free, enlightened and Christian men.

In the discussion of these deep interests, let us as far as possible keep all jarring matters separate; and while we look at the whole subject in all its imposing magnitude, let us do it in such a manner as not to confound things which are essentially distinct. It is within the compass of possible events, for example, that the public sentiment may settle down into just such a state as we should prefer on all the questions relating to free persons of colour, while the reverse occurred on all those relating to slaves; or the precise opposite might happen.— The questions are separate, and should be separately discussed.

First, then, as to the free people of colour. We hazard nothing in asserting that the subsisting relations between this class of persons and the community cannot remain permanently as they are. In the year 1790 there were sixty-three whites to every single free coloured person in this nation: in 1830, there were only thirty-five to one. A similar rate of approximation for about two centuries and a half would make the free coloured persons equal to the whites, without taking slaves at all into the account. Neither the safety of the State nor the resources of any community would endure within its bosom such a nation of idle, profligate and ignorant persons. There is a point beyond which the peace of society cannot permit the increase of the elements of commotion; for the moment that point is passed, they who were the vagabonds of yesterday become the lords of the ascendant to-morrow; so that States, by a sort of self-adjusting process, purge away the grosser elements which compose them.— True, the process is usually demoralizing, and always stern and bloody; but, in the long run, not therefore the less inevitable. So, on the other hand, there is a point beyond which no community can allow a system of pauperism to go; and whether this system exhibit itself in a useless and corrupt aristocracy, nominally above society, as in foreign States, or in a class of abandoned idlers, below it, as with us, the result is sooner or later the same, and really from the same causes. Society can bear only such a rate of idle hands, to the mouths that must be fed; and whether the excess that cannot be borne is attempted to be fed by oppression under pretence of law, or by real theft, or by general mendicancy, makes no difference as to the certainty that the body politic must re-act, and the excrescence slough off.

We may be allowed also to say, that in an age of Christian enterprise, such a condition as that which is generally exhibited by the free coloured population of this country, cannot be permitted long to exist, under our daily observation. Their condition is no doubt represented to be comparatively worse than it really is, in some respects, as we may have occasion to show hereafter. But that it is really most degraded, destitute, pitiable and full of bitterness, no man who will use his senses can for one moment doubt. And whatever their condition, that it has been brought upon them, chiefly if not entirely by our own policy and social state, is just as undeniable. They are victims to our fathers and to us; how, we pause not to ask. But they are victims: and every sentiment of religion impels us to regard their case with an eye of pity.

They, therefore, who are for doing nothing in reference to this great subject, are out of place, and behind the necessities and the feelings of the age. To do nothing, is to let the very worst be done. They who are prepared to do something, are divided between the plans; the first of which proposes to retain the free coloured people in this country, to admit them to all the privileges of the whites, and to discountenance and break down forever every sentiment, or feeling, or taste, or prejudice, which stands in the way of a perfect equality and complete mixture of the two races: the other plan proposes, to divide the two races totally, by colonizing the free blacks. Widely as these schemes differ, there is one point in which the enlightened and humane who advocate either, cordially agree; namely, that the moral and intellectual condition of these unhappy men, should be immediately and greatly improved, whether they stay here, or go to whatever land their destinies may call them. It is a cause of deep thankfulness to God, that they who differ so widely about so many things, should

agree on this vital point. And yet what fruit has this concurrence of opinion yielded?—Where are the evidences of Christian effort among these people, for their present instruction? The Missionary, the Sabbath School, the Temperance Agent, the Tract Distributor! where are they all? Alas! how meager are the efforts of benevolence for the present advantage of these dying multitudes, who are left to perish, while we discuss questions relating to their future condition. For this at least, there can be no excuse; for we know well, that no people hear the gospel of God with more greediness than these neglected children of sorrow.

To return, however, to the first of the two plans indicated above, let us inquire, Is it the best? Is it practicable? Is it wise? To each of these questions, we think a negative must be given; and as the point here involved is also still more deeply implicated in a question touching the slave population of this country, to which we will come by and by, it is proper to examine it candidly and fully.

It must be admitted that no moral obligation would be violated by society, if this plan were executed fully, in all the details which are so revolting to the public taste. We do not mean to say that men are at liberty to violate, individually, the deep and settled public feeling on subjects of this kind; but only, that if society could be led into the scheme, there is nothing that morally forbids it. When we admit this, we admit all that the moral sense of every rightly constituted heart and mind can on this point demand. For surely no one will assert that the public taste which has so steadfastly, and for so long a period, revolted at his project of levelling and mixing the races, is, *per se*, morally wrong. We know not on what principle it can be judged criminal in us to shrink with aversion from the thought of contracting the tenderest relations of life, or allowing our near relatives to do it, with persons, who from their physical organization create disgust. It may be said these feelings result from the previous contempt and aversion for this race generated by the previous relations of the parties. But if this be so, how happens it, that in those States where slavery has long ceased, or where it never existed, yea, even among those who most deeply feel for the condition of the blacks, this repugnance to the levelling and mixing of the two people, still exists in full force? Who in any country of white men, selects his wife, his friend, his ruler from among the blacks? If rare cases are found, men set them down to rare merit on the part of him who has arisen above the force of natural instincts, or to rare depravity on the part of him who falls below them. Now unless this strong and abiding repugnance of all cultivated societies, to pass over natural barriers of this kind, can be shown to be criminal in itself, it seems to be most preposterous to stake a whole plan of mighty good, upon the single point, of forcing men to give it up. We say preposterous: for such conduct would be most unwise, even if the thing complained of were morally wrong, so long as any other way existed of effecting the chief end in view, which in this case is the good of the blacks. But will any attempt to show that the black can never be happy and free and wise and Christian unless he be a member of the same community, and on equal terms with the white man? Or, still worse, will any assert, that his present condition among us can never be improved by removing him to some other land unless we first agree to say and to prove, that he is now, physically, intellectually and morally, our equal in all respects? It is manifest then, even if our feelings on this subject deserve no better name than prejudice, that it is useless and foolish, and may we not add, criminal, to risk a great cause upon a point, which seems immoveably settled against us, and which is at any rate not indispensable to our main design.

It may be asked, why we have placed this matter on personal relations chiefly, or at all?—We answer, because the best criterion is thus afforded, both of the nature and extent of the repugnance to the plan we are combating. Buonaparte asserted that the only possible way to place various castes and races of men, in any state, upon a footing of perfect equality, was to allow polygamy. This was the result of his reflections on the political state of Egypt; and he saw no method to secure peace among the multifarious classes of all eastern nations better than the violation of the fundamental principle of all Christian institutions. This opinion is certainly worth something; and the universal course of events which confirms it, is worth still more. For we believe it will be hard to find a community, in which races of men, materially different from each other, have lived in the enjoyment of equal privileges, where polygamy has not been tolerated. Now while this fully justifies the manner in which we have treated the subject, it presents us with a most instructive commentary on those schemes which it is our immediate purpose to confute. For what our race has uniformly exhibited in every stage of its existence, may be reasonably supposed to have a deeper location than in the prejudices of society, at least should not needlessly be brought into contest as an absurdity or a crime, where its overthrow is not of necessity involved in the very success of the chief good to be obtained. Or, if that be really so, it would seem not utterly inconsistent with wisdom and humility, to call in question the facts and reasonings, which had brought us in conflict with the sentiments of so many generations.

For our part, we have never been able to see what good was to be effected, by reducing all the races of men to one homogeneous mass; mixing the white, the red, the tawny, the brown, the black, all together and thus reproducing throughout the world, or in any single State, a race different in some physical appearance from all that now exist. What would be gained by it that would be valuable? Nothing, absolutely nothing. For if such a state of things could be produced, it is manifest it could not be made permanent. The same causes that have made the European white, and the Asiatic tawny, and the African black—we care not, and inquire not, what those causes are—would beyond doubt produce again the very same effects; and with the outward appearance and corresponding habits, produce also the very same propensities and tastes and feelings which now irritate the thorough abolitionist,

The object is *physically* not less than *morally* impossible. We have found in certain positions and latitudes, the man of one complexion and organization; and in another position and latitude we have found a different race; and this with a uniformity so surprising, that when the arrangement has been disturbed, it has been by causes operating against the common course of things, and counteracted at last themselves by the more enduring laws which God has stamped upon the universe. Who believes that the white man will possess western or central Africa, or southern Asia, or even that he will continue to hold the West India Islands? Or, who would not smile at the thought of the black man making permanent locations around the polar seas? If any portion of our broad land is best adapted to the black man, we rest assured, that He, who does all things well, will give it to him. But any attempt on our part to mix up, and give him what is not best for him, is as absurd as all effort to keep him from his own must finally be nugatory.

But it may be said, we care not for the amalgamation of the races, we ask only for equal privileges and rights; we reply, the things are inseparably united; united by universal experience; united in the feelings, the sentiments, the prejudices of mankind. The class out of which we choose our rulers and teachers and associates, is the same out of which our children choose their husbands and wives; *it is the class of our equals*,—whether we be all equally free or equally slaves—it is the class of our equals only. All civil equality which begins not in such sentiments as will tolerate perfect personal equality, is idle and fictitious; and as to political without personal equality, it is every where impossible, but in a land of repeated and popular elections, the notion is utterly absurd.

But suppose it were not so; what peculiar advantages would accrue to the free persons of colour by residing in this country, on terms of perfect equality, among the whites; that would not exist to an equal degree, if there were no white men here? Or if they were alone in some other land as good as this? Amalgamation with the whites, we think, has been shown to be out of the question, and not desirable if it could be attained. The attainment of equal civil or political rights here, without amalgamation, we think has been shown to be impossible. And we now demand again, if neither has been proved, in what is some other land, equal to this in soil, climate and all other advantages, inferior to this, as the black man's home? Will he say, it is inferior simply because it is not his home? And does he really mean to say, that the place of his birth, though in no respect superior to other portions of the earth, is so dear to him, as to be preferred *with oppression and contempt*, and that in his own judgment, or with poverty and ignorance and nominal freedom, in the judgment of all, to a land not less lovely, with plenty and liberty and knowledge! And is this the evidence upon which he expects to be admitted to the privileges of citizenship, among a people who love liberty with idolatrous devotion! This, however, is mere pretence. And it seems as if every reason alleged to support the useless and unreasonable claims which have been set up for this unhappy race, flatly contradicted all human experience. What nation has ever yet located the permanent seat of its empire in the native land of its inhabitants? What people have not migrated from their original seats? The earliest monuments of our kind, show us a race of wanderers; and, at the hour in which we write, there is hardly a country, some of whose people are not going to and fro over the earth. And shall a despised and degraded race, who have been forced not only into exile, but into bondage, now arise and contradict the whole of human experience? And for what? To prevent their restoration from exile! their deliverance from ignorance and want! If there ever was a case, where every high and pure consideration conspired with the amplest personal advantage, to foster this migratory propensity of man, this undoubtedly is it. The black man possesses no single advantage here, which he will not retain in an equal or higher degree in Liberia; he abandons no enjoyment here, which he will not be an hundred fold more likely to acquire there, than he ever can do here. Besides this, he is not only residing here, (as to the larger portion of North America assuredly) in a climate which is better fitted to us than to him; but the climate to which we desire to transfer him is perfectly fitted to him, and to nobody else on earth. Central and western Africa is the home of the black man, and the grave of all others. It is as if God called him with a voice the most imperative, issuing out of the bosom of the land of his ancestors, to come back to her laden with the trophies of civilization and religion, which he has reaped in the midst of tears. If he refuse, who shall set up the standard of the cross in Africa? It is the brightest hope of Africa which her own sons are trying to extinguish! It is the most effectual door for the entrance of the Gospel into that dark continent, which they, who profess to love the Lord Jesus, are trying to shut upon us!

It is therefore alike the interest of the free coloured people,—of their kindred in Africa—and the cause of Christ, that they should fall in with the plans of the Colonization Society, and remove to Liberia. That such is also the interest of this nation, is not less obvious; whether we consider the existing evils resulting from the presence of these people among us, or the advantages both interior and exterior, that would result from their removal. The same advantages that resulted to Europe from the settlement of the white man in this hemisphere, would, in a proportionate degree, result to all America, and more especially to ourselves, by the settlement of civilized communities in Africa. It is not improbable, that every year's commerce with Liberia will yield a nett profit to this nation of greater amount than the entire expenses of the Colony to us, up to each period of accounting. And is it nothing to us to spread our laws and arts and language and manners and institutions over one entire quarter of the earth, now covered with a darkness that may be felt? Is it nothing to these great interests, and to our love for them, to possess another habitation, against the time when the calamities that have overtaken in succession every portion of the earth, and every human

institution, shall make us desolate? When we consider too that in obtaining results so valuable, we are actually delivering ourselves from a population, that in its present relations, is and must continue to be a great public calamity, it is unaccountable how any enlightened citizen can refuse to aid us. Great as the degradation of the free black population is, no friend of Colonization has ever said that their vices or crimes were of such a nature as to be incapable of reform. They result, so far as they are peculiar to them, from the peculiarities of their condition; and when the condition is changed, the vices disappear. There is, therefore, nothing but sophistry and want of candour in the reproach which upbraids us for expecting to make men, who are degraded here, virtuous elsewhere. We expect nothing from change of place only, but every thing from change of place and condition also: and they who deride us, expect the same results as we look for, by change of condition merely.—Then, surely, we have more reason to expect them than they. There is, however, a proneness in the public mind to aggravate the vices of the free blacks; and the abolitionists are not without grounds when they complain of it. It is true, that the proportion of convictions of free persons of colour is greater than that of white people. But this is to be taken with great allowance as an evidence of criminality. For their temptations are, usually, manifold greater and more pressing; their offences are more narrowly looked after, and therefore a greater proportion detected: and of those detected, a greater proportion are convicted by reason of their possessing less public sympathy, smaller opportunities of escaping, and less means of blinding, seducing, or bribing justice. In addition to all this, the very code of offences in all the slave States, is more stern as to them than the whites; and the very principles of evidence are altered by statute, so as to bear most rigorously against them. Or if we contrast them with the slaves, we have no means of forming a judgment; for the very nature of offences and punishments is different in the different classes. We have known a slave hanged for what a white man would hardly have been prosecuted for; and we have known free blacks put into the penitentiary for several years, upon evidence that was illegal by statute against a white man; and for offences for which a gentle tempered master would have rebuked his slave, and a hot tempered one have caned him. We admit the general corruption of the free blacks; but we deny that it is greater than that of the slaves; and we affirm that it is judged of by false methods, and is in a high degree exaggerated. We once thought differently; but we have seen reason to change our opinion.

There is, however, a danger here of an opposite kind, which is threatening the absolute ruin of the cause and the Colony itself. We have spoken above in general terms, and of the general state of the free people of colour. That in many parts of our country there are portions of them who sink below that general state, wretched as it must be admitted to be, is certain. And the danger is, that the most ignorant and wicked and wretched of their class may become the chief emigrants to Liberia. The steps taken by the abolitionists have poisoned the minds of the free blacks, in an extraordinary degree, against the plans of the Colonization Society. Just in this condition the regulations of several of the States, as Virginia and Maryland, in relation to these people, commenced their pinching operations upon them, tending, perhaps designed, to drive them from their borders, the strong, and the thrifty depart; and they depart exasperated, disposed and not unqualified to find means of annoyance. The weak, the ignorant, the idle, the irresolute, are unable to depart, ignorant how to act, overborne by a concentrated public odium, and accept, against their wills and with heavy hearts, the provisions for removal to Africa. And when they arrive there, they weaken the settlement in fact, and weaken it by putting weapons into the hands of its enemies by their ill conduct there, and weaken it again by shaking the fervour of that zeal with which the purest hearts in this land have upheld this cause before men, and borne it up to the throne of God. We need not doubt as to the condition of those to whom we have reference, when the Governor of the Colony felt himself called on to state to the Board of Managers, that a few more cargoes like one that was composed of emigrants from the lower part of Virginia, would put it out of his power to carry on the affairs of the Colony. No man could know better than Dr. Mechlin, that free vagabonds, forced to Africa, as really as if they had been fettered and carried there, are not the people by whose agency the philanthropists and Christians of America, expect to enlighten and redeem Africa. What can such people do for Africa?—"The natives," says Mr. Pinney the Missionary, writing from Monrovia in February last, "are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the Colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing, usually, but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction, as exists in America between colours. A Colonist of any dye (and many there are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Kroo, or Basso,) would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact menials, (I mean those in town,) and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the Colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower." Here is unexceptionable, disinterested, and friendly testimony. We confess it went like a bolt of ice through our hearts. May God deliver this cause, both at home and abroad, from any influence that is not thoroughly Christian. Instant and inevitable must be its ruin, if the Christians of this country awaken not to the mournful conviction, that it is in danger of being unchristian, or less than Christian, in its management, effects, details and results, here and in Africa, as well as in its great conception, and mighty reach. Politicians have done and can do, almost nothing for this cause, but make speeches out of facts generally furnished to hand. It is Christ's cause, and his

people must uphold it, and watch it, and pray for it, and direct it. And when they cease to do so, it is ruined, it ought to be ruined.

Now, if the free people of colour were solely or chiefly interested in this discussion, with the resulting effects upon America and Africa, which have been merely hinted at; its importance would be sufficient to engage the attention of the community. But, we have said, as is manifestly true, that the question here made between the two schemes for the melioration of the condition of the free blacks, is still more deeply involved in all the questions relating to our slave population. And it is perhaps true, that they who advocate the equality, legal and personal, among ourselves, of the black and white races, have taken their positions with reference especially to the condition of the slaves, and with the hope of aiding them. It is also true, that the most determined opposition to the plan of Colonization, has been manifested on the part of those who are favourable, not only to the amalgamation and levelling, one or both, but who are in favour of that, *instantly*; and who oppose Colonization, because they suppose it operates injuriously to *instant*, and, as they affirm, to *all emancipation*.—Here is a point as much more interesting than the former, as the fate of millions of men is more important than that of thousands; as much more affecting, as the delivery from absolute and unqualified bondage is better than the melioration of a condition of qualified freedom: as much more imperative, as the claims of naked right and justice are above those of affection and benevolence. Let us, therefore, meet the question not only with fairness, but with alacrity.

What, it may be asked, have we to do with slavery? And to whom is such a question addressed? And of what slavery is it predicated? With the *legal* rights of the master, or the legal wrongs of the slave, in Georgia or the Carolinas, a citizen of Ohio has surely no legal right to interfere. So it is equally clear that no citizen of the United States has, as such, the right to interfere with the civil regulations of England, or the religious institutions of China. But will any man dispute our right to discuss the wrongs of English oppression, or pray and labour for the dispersion of Chinese darkness? There was not less true philosophy than touching pathos in that noble sentiment which drew down the plaudits even of heathen men, *Homo sum; nil humani alienum a me puto*. There is no state of man, which might not have been ours, or may not be our children's. All that relates to men, relates to us; and the same rules by which our rights are established, are applicable to all who are enabled to enforce them; and the same pretexts upon which the rights of others are subverted are applicable to us, as soon as we are weak enough to be subdued. As men, then, we have a right to speak, and argue freely, on all that relates to man. As Christian men, this sacred right becomes a high duty to our Master; and as free Christian men, it is among the noblest privileges and distinctions of our estate. But limit the privilege as you will, to me at least there is no restriction, if there be liberty to any.

What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one-half the States of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as,

1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labour, except only so much as is necessary to continue labour itself, by continuing healthful existence, thus committing clear robbery;
2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution;
3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture, in many States making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; thus perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance;
4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and, at pleasure separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the clearest laws of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves in the image of the most high God!

This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave State. This is that "dreadful but unavoidable necessity," for which you may hear so many mouths uttering excuses, in all parts of the land. And is it really so! If indeed it be; if that "*necessity*" which tolerates this condition be really "*unavoidable*" in any such sense, that we are constrained for one moment, to put off the course of conduct which shall most certainly and most effectually subvert a system which is utterly indefensible on every correct human principle, and utterly abhorrent from every law of God,—then, indeed, let ICHABOD be graven in letters of terrific light upon our country! For God can no more sanction such perpetual wrong, than he can cease to be faithful to the glory of his own throne!

But it is not so. Slavery cannot be made perpetual. The progress of free and just opinions is sapping its foundations every where. In regard to this country, no political proposition is capable of clearer proof than that slavery must terminate. And the importance of the thing itself, and its direct relevancy to the matter in hand, demand a few words in illustration of this point.

We utter but the common sentiment of all mankind when we say, none ever continue slaves a moment after they are conscious of their ability to retrieve their freedom. The

fact of the existence of that ability is matter of conjecture or calculation, and can never be solved but by experiment. It is possible, therefore, for men to err, and suppose they are not strong enough, long after they are so, and thus continue in bondage, when they are capable of being free. And on this idea proceed all the systems which require slaves to be kept in ignorance. But men seem to forget that all the natural impulses prompt us to err on the other extreme, and thus produce premature commotions, and partial and desperate insurrections. Under a higher state of knowledge on the part of the blacks, the Southampton affair would never have occurred. It is no part of our purpose to inquire as to the time when these principles would be mature, in this nation. But it is worthy of a moment's thought, that the constant tendency for fifty years has been to accumulate the black population upon the southern States; that already in some of them the blacks exceed the whites, and in most of them increase above the increase of the whites in the same States, with a ratio that is absolutely startling; that the slave population could bring into action a larger proportion of efficient men, perfectly inured to hardships, to the climate, and privations, than any other population in the world; and that they have in distant sections, and on various occasions, manifested already a desperate purpose to shake the yoke. It is our deliberate conviction, that if this Union were dissolved, in half a century, the sugar and rice and cotton growing country would be the black man's empire. In such an event—which may God avert—and such a contest may it never come,—we ask not any heart to decide where would human sympathy and earthly glory stand; we ask not in the fearful words of Jefferson, what attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us; we ask only—and the answer settles the argument—which is like to be the stronger side?

Slavery cannot endure. The just, and generous, and enlightened hearts and minds of those who own the slaves will not allow the system to endure. State after State, the example has caught and spread—New England—New York—the middle States on the sea board; one after another have taken the question up, and decided it, all alike. The state of slavery is ruinous to the community that tolerates it, under all possible circumstances; and is most cruel and unjust to its victims. No community, that can be induced to examine the question, will, if it be wise, allow such a canker in its vitals; nor, if it be just, will permit such wrong. We argue from the nature of the case, and the constitution of man; we speak from the experience of the States already named; we judge from what is passing before us in the range of States along the slave line, in Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky; from the state of feeling on this subject in foreign countries, and from the existing state of opinion throughout the world. The very owners of slaves will themselves, and that, we hope at no distant day, put an end to the system.

But more than all, He who is higher than the highest, will, in His own good time and way, break the rod of the oppressor, and let all the oppressed go free. He has indeed commanded servants to be obedient to their masters; and it is their bounden duty to be so. We ask not now, what the servants were, nor who the masters were. It is enough that all masters are commanded to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal!" and to what feature of slavery may that description apply! Just and equal! what care I whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labour are taken from me? What matters it whether my horse is stolen or the value of him in my labour be taken from me? Do we talk of violating the rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves? And will some one tell us, if there be any thing in which a man has, or can have, so perfect a right of property, as in his own limbs, bones and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense. And he who presumes that God will approve, and reward habitual injustice and wrong, is ignorant alike of God, and of his own heart. It is equally easy to apply to the institution of slavery every law of Christianity, and show its repugnance to each and every one of them. Undeniably it is contrary to the revealed will of God; and so the General Assembly of our Church have solemnly, and righteously, and repeatedly ordained. "We consider," says that body in 1818, "the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbour as ourselves: and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ which enjoins that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." (1 Digest, pp 341, 342.)—And who will dare to say, that the Holy One of Israel will approve of and perpetuate that which is "inconsistent" with His own law, and "irreconcilable" in its repugnance to the Gospel of His Son? It cannot be; it will not be. Nature, and reason, and religion unite in their hostility to this system of folly and crime. How it will end time only can reveal; but the light of heaven is not clearer than that it must end.

Now just in this contingency the scheme of African Colonization comes forward; and, taking for granted, that slavery is an evil of enormous magnitude, both personal and social, it offers in the first place to relieve the country of one of the direst results of slavery, namely, the free black population, in a manner cheap, certain, and advantageous to all the parties; and in the second, it offers to the master of slaves, the highest possible inducements to free his slaves, by showing him how he may do it, in a manner at once humane, wise, and full of promise to the slave, the master, the country, and the whole world! Was ever a plan more timely? Was one ever more replete with wisdom, and forecast, and benevolence?

But it entered into the heads of the abolitionists, that the whole affair was meant only to perpetuate slavery, by acting as an outlet for its superfluous evils. Nor can it be denied tha

the conduct and declarations of many professed friends of the cause gave them some countenance. Here arose the conflict between the abolitionists and the colonizationists, upon a point which now admits of no doubt in any honest and enlightened mind: the question we mean as to the effects of colonization on the emancipation of slaves. Can any man doubt? Who emancipated the hundreds of slaves now in Liberia? Who gave the funds to carry out and sustain all the colonists who have gone out? It is needless, however, to reason, where the thing is proved by facts; and out of the multitude at hand, we will state but two; the first is, that, *throughout all America ninety-nine in every hundred friends of colonization, who do any thing for the cause, are ardent friends of emancipation also*; the second is, that *the friends of colonization have done more in twelve years for the emancipation of the black race, than the abolitionists have done for twelve centuries*. For the truth of these two facts, on the first of which the author is willing to stake his reputation for veracity, and on the second for the least knowledge of the subject, he frankly appeals to the public.

But, (say the abolitionists,) your plan does not demand instant emancipation. Suppose it does not; can not they demand this, and leave us to do good in other ways to those whom their prudence and Christian love may induce masters or communities to set free? The missionary societies do not demand the civil abrogation of paganism, as a condition precedent to preaching Christ among the heathen. But the abolitionists have a different logic and benevolence, and object to all improvement of the condition of the slaves by colonizing; because all who favour this plan may not compassionate the slave as deeply as they ought; or because all of them will not demand the immediate abolition of slavery. We have proved their accusation, that our plan favours slavery, to be false; and as to the unfounded allegations about the unsuitableness and unhealthiness of the region to which we propose to send the coloured people, we pass them by as unworthy at this day of any reply.

They have demanded instant abolition; and pray consider to what issues their theories have brought them. The owners of the slaves replied, We have tried abolition, and really the results have been such as to shake our confidence. How very common is it to hear men of sense and humanity say that slavery itself is to be preferred as a permanent condition, to the evils of a free coloured population. Now we consider this sentiment false; and boldly say, that if the only alternative left to us, were the perpetuity of slavery, or the general and immediate abolition of it, it would be the duty of all men to choose the latter, and risk its present evils, rather than make the horrors of slavery eternal. But why need such a question as this ever arise, or even be discussed, when we have a method better than either side of that alternative, fully within our reach? Let the abolitionist, if he can, answer that question. But when the slave-owner has pressed this difficulty, the reply has been, not indeed without truth, that these very vices and crimes of the free blacks which operate to prevent us from liberating the slaves, are in truth the result of our own laws and institutions; and that therefore we ought at once to remedy the condition of the free blacks, instead of making our own wrong an excuse for further injustice. True, most true. But how shall we proceed to remedy this condition? The abolitionist says, by levelling and mixing one or both; the colonizer says, by separation. In regard to the free blacks, we think we have proved the plan of the former to be absurd and impossible: that of the latter, to be wise and practicable. In relation to the slave, surely the argument cumulates with vast power. What! admit the slave to all the privileges, rights, and immunities, at which, in the case of the free blacks, the heart so steadfastly revolts, and revolts upon principles neither immoral, unfounded, nor of a temporary duration, but deeply seated in the very constitution of man! And demand this with acrimony and intolerance, as the foundation of all right action on the subject! It is really wonderful that any man should ever have expected to produce any emotion but disgust and rage by such conduct. The inference of the abolitionist is all false, and does not follow from his premises. It is undeniably our duty to do something, to do every thing, for the slaves as well as the free blacks, that justice, humanity, and religion demand. But does it therefore follow that we are to make them our familiar friends, to intermarry with them, and to select our rulers from among them? We are bound to love our neighbour as ourself; but does it follow from thence, that every village and city shall constitute a single family, or, according to Mr. Owen, the whole fabric of society be fused down, and brought out, not only new, but homogeneous? Or is it not rather clear, that just in proportion to the conviction you are able to impress upon the mind of the slave holder, that the duty of liberating his slave is founded on some such principles, or lead to some such results as these, you disgust him, and set him more firmly against every scheme that tends towards emancipation? And this is the mode by which we are required to advance the cause of the blacks! We speak from the deepest conviction, when we say, that in our judgment, the abolitionists in America, have done more to rivet the chains of slavery, than all its open advocates have done!

What then, it may be demanded, is not immediate abolition of slavery a moral duty? We answer, this is far from being clear in the mode stated. That slavery is criminal, we fully believe; it ought, therefore, for this and a thousand other reasons, to be abolished. But how and when, are questions not perfectly clear on the side of the abolitionists.

It is an undeniable truth, that society has the right of restraining the liberty, and taking away the life of any citizen for the public good. And this right is exercised, without question, in a thousand forms, in all societies, every day. The powers vested in the parent, the guardian, the master of the apprentice, the keeper of the poor, the idle, the dissolute, and the criminal, in the sheriff and jailer and hang-man, all rest for their sole foundation precisely here. We cannot perceive what there is that hinders society from exercising these powers in one way, more than in another; or that requires them to put them in one set of hands,

rather than another, except such considerations as are merely prudential. If therefore, the good of society requires the personal liberty of a certain portion of its people to be restrained, why may they not be restrained? And what moral principle forbids the white man from being the agent of the body politic in restraining the black; or vice versa? Or again, what requires, that they who are restrained, should be put in prison like a thief, or within ideal prison-limits like a bankrupt; in gangs like prisoners, or by single individuals like apprentices? The right is most obvious, and the modifications are merely prudential. It is admitted, however, that before society can rightfully exercise this power, it must show that they who are restrained, cannot safely be allowed full liberty. And here, the whole question, as to the real condition of the blacks in this country, comes fully up; upon which we have only to say here, that we consider the case already clearly made out as to the free blacks, and still more so as to the slaves, that they are not, and can perhaps never be in a condition to dispense with some degree of unusual restraint, while they continue to reside among the whites.

But there is still a question of personal duty on the part of the slaveholder, distinct from the general duty of society. Suppose society push the restraint too far, or refuse to mitigate it, when we think it should be done: what are in that case my duties to my slave? If it is clear, or probable, that by refusing any longer, to exercise ownership over him, we place him in a worse condition than he would be, if we continued to act as his master, would we be at liberty to turn him off? Our moral sense tells us, we would not; but on the other hand, that clear duty would compel us to continue the relation of master and slave, until we could place him in a better, or at least, not in a worse condition, than we found him. We omit for the present all consideration of duty to society itself; whether that of striving to enlighten it, or of abstaining from injuring it. Here again the whole question of the relative conditions of the slave and free coloured population in this country comes fully up. In relation to which, we shall only say, that cases are most numerous, in which masters have been prevented, for the time being, from liberating their slaves, by no other considerations than such as these. They were not yet fit for Liberia, and the laws prohibited their enlargement here. It seems to us, then, that society not only has the right to permit the relation of master and servant, so far as the restraint of liberty is required by the public good; but even that (in an individual case) Providence may put me into such a relation to my slave, as to make it my duty to continue it for the time being.

We do not pretend to justify slavery. God forbid that we should make such an attempt.—We only design to show that the abolitionists err in principle, as well as prudence, in all their violent and overwhelming denunciations. There is a view of the matter, however, which presents subjects, in relation to slavery, which require immediate action and union on the part of all who love God, or have a heart to feel for human wrongs! If society undertakes to say that one class of its members are not fit to be free, and proceeding a step further, to appoint another class to restrain them, it does this for the public good, not for the good of the keepers; and is therefore solemnly bound, to enact a system of laws, by which the owners shall be restrained from substituting their passions in the place of the authority of society, and the slaves shall be protected from being restrained beyond what the public good imperiously demands. It is as much the public duty and interest to prevent unfit masters from owning slaves, or to prevent fit persons who are masters, from exercising too much power, as to prevent improper persons from enjoying too great license. But when we apply these principles to the accessories of slavery, as they may be called, to what are set forth as its contingent results, the case becomes still clearer and more imperative. Suppose it to be right to deprive a man of liberty, in certain cases, for the public good, does that authorize society to stand by and see him robbed of his money; or does my being made his keeper, justify me in depriving him of the wages of his hard labour? Upon what possible ground can society, or any human creature, justify the act that compels me to labour without compensation for another individual? Every community is bound to administer justice between its citizens; and justice never can permit one man to take without return the labour of another, and that by force. Will the slaveholder say, he returns to his slaves in the long run, as much as he takes from them? If this were true, it is no answer; for society is bound to see the slave paid and righted, on fixed principles, and may not lawfully leave the subject to the owner's discretion. Again, justice has nothing to do with such lumping accounts, as those which place hundreds in a mass, and rob one healthy, strong labourer, to make up for the deficiency in the cases of many weak and worthless. What excuse is it for him who would plunder us, that he has attempted before to rob others and failed? Society is bound, and that *now and always*, to see that every man in it is fairly dealt by, and justly paid by every other man in it; and every human being is bound to "do justice" always, to every body. Even the master who believes, and this he may in many cases believe wisely and righteously, that he ought not to set his slaves free in their existing condition, becomes thereby, only the trustee, for them, of the entire proceeds of their labour; and has no more right to put it in his pocket, than to apply to his own use the estates of his ward. This, the reader may say, would soon bring slavery to an end. Doubtless; and the remark shows that it is only for its supposed profits, and not from public or conscientious considerations, that slavery is so widely tolerated.*

* We throw into a note, the British project for the emancipation of the slaves in their West India Islands, which was submitted to Parliament by Ministers in May last. Several most interesting questions arise out of this movement. What will be its effects on the whites in the Bri-

Again; upon what ground can slave-holding communities justify the denial of those civil rights to their slaves, the possession of which would make them better men, and the denial of which does not make them better slaves? We will specify but one; and that one ordained of God, and of universal use and necessity in all ages of the world. We allude to the rite of marriage. There was never born in this nation a legitimate slave. Every one, without exception, is, in the contemplation of law, "*filius neminis*," and by statute a bastard. Shall the master say, the religious rights of the parties still subsist? And to what end? Suppose the great State of New York were to repeal every law that forbids polygamy and divorce, every law that gives redress for the breach of marital rights, every one that makes marriage and its fruits subject of civil regulation, what corruption, bloodshed, and havoc would reign throughout that empire State! Yet this is the condition of the slaves in this land; forced on them by our institutions! And yet we marvel at their corruption. It is said, however, that if the civil rights of marriage were allowed to be contracted between the parties, the rights of the master over them, and their issue, in that case legitimated, would be interfered with and curtailed. The wife could not be brutally chastised at pleasure, nor atrocities perpetrated, which while we think of our cheeks burn, nor the children of slaves be liable to such absolute dominion of the master. These are reasons for a Christian land to look upon; and then ask, can any system which they are advanced to defend, be compatible with virtue and truth?

We have spoken of the children of slaves; and here lies one of the most abhorrent features of slavery. Men may become slaves, perhaps for life, for crimes lawfully proven. But no absurdity can be more inconceivably gross than to think of making slaves of the unborn; and no injustice more audacious, than that which makes misfortune and crime descend from father to son, and dooms the child of Africans to perpetual slavery for no better reason than that his parents had been thus doomed before him. He who is not born cannot be a slave.—

tish Islands? And on the slaves, in all the other Islands? and upon our southern States? And upon our national sentiment, and public character, and estimation with posterity? Are we after all, to loose the race for human liberty and advancement? Let the plan speak for itself. It is as follows:—

I. That every slave, upon the passing of this act, should be at liberty to claim, before the protector of slaves, custos of the parish, or such other officer as shall be named by his Majesty for that purpose, to be registered as an apprenticed labourer.

II. That the terms of such apprenticeship should be—

1st. That the power of corporal punishment should be altogether taken from the master and transferred to the magistrate.

2nd. That in consideration of food and clothing, and such allowances as are now made by law to the slave, the labourer should work for his master three fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled by contract whether for three-fourths of the week or of each day.

3rd. That the labourer should have a right to claim employment of his master for the remaining one-fourth of his time, according to a fixed scale of wages.

4th. That during such one-fourth of his time, the labourer should be at liberty to employ himself elsewhere.

5th. That the master should fix a price upon the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship.

6th. That the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of the spare time, if given to the master the negro should receive 1-12th of his price annually; and in proportion for each lesser term.

7th. That every negro, on becoming an apprentice, shall be entitled to a money payment weekly, in lieu of food and clothing, should he prefer it, the amount to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

8th. That every apprenticed labourer be bound to pay a portion, to be fixed, of his wages, half yearly, to an officer to be appointed by his Majesty.

9th. That in default of such payment, the master to be liable, and, in return, may exact an equivalent amount of labour without payment in the succeeding half year.

10th. That every apprenticed negro, on payment of the price fixed by his master, or such portion of it as may from time to time remain due, be absolutely free.

11th. That every such apprentice may borrow the sum so required, and bind himself, by contract before a magistrate, for a limited period, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

III. That a loan to the amount of 15,000,000*l.* sterling be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on such security as may be approved by commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

IV. That such a loan be distributed among the different colonies, in a ratio compounded of the number of slaves, and the amount of exports.

V. That the half yearly payments herein before authorized to be made by the apprenticed negroes be taken in liquidation of so much of the debt contracted by the planter to the public.

VI. That all children who at the time of the passing of this act shall be under the age of six years be free, and be maintained by their respective parents.

VII. That in a failure of such maintenance, they be deemed apprentices to the master of the parents, without receiving wages, the males till the age of 24, the females to the age of 20, at which period respectively they and their children, if any, shall be absolutely free.

VIII. That this act shall not prevent his Majesty from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the colonial legislatures for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes of the community.

IX. That upon the recommendation of the local legislatures, his Majesty will be prepared to recommend to Parliament, out of the revenues of this country, to grant such aid as may be deemed necessary for the due support of the administration of justice, and of an efficient police establishment, and of a general system of religious and moral education.

He cannot be made so by conquest, nor by prescription, before his existence. He cannot be made so for crime, or incapacity for freedom, before existence, and therefore before crime or incapacity. He cannot in that case, if ever, make himself a slave. His parents cannot make him a slave before he exists; nor during his minority; for his parents can part with no more right to govern him than they possess themselves, which goes no further than his arriving at the period when he can control himself. Hereditary slavery is, therefore, without pretence, except in avowed rapacity.

The conclusion of the matter then seems to be this: that society, and the owners of slaves by the consent of society, may righteously restrain the personal liberty of the slave, so far as is needful for the public good, or for the advantage of the slave; and hence that instant abolition is not more sound in morals, than it is hurtful if not impossible in practice. But it is equally clear that this construction justly extends no further, and can be continued no longer than the public good requires; and that it is the instant and pressing duty of the communities where slavery exists to put it on such a footing, that the slaves shall as soon as possible be prepared for freedom, and, while they are preparing, that they shall enjoy every right, natural, civil, social and personal, not inconsistent with the public good, and their own permanent advantage, and that therefore the existing results and consequences of slavery are utterly indefensible, and such as no righteous man or community, should for a moment partake of or tolerate.

What then shall we say? Let the abolitionist give up his cause as impossible of execution, hateful to the community, ruinous to the cause of the blacks, and founded upon principles wrong in themselves. Let the colonizationists no longer make excuses for slavery, which too many have done; but acknowledging the evils of that wretched system, and taking for granted, as from the beginning, that it was so bad, men only needed to see their way clear to break it up, let us lay open before the public in the practical operations of our cause, the great and effectual door which God has set for the deliverance of this country, for the regeneration of Africa, and for the redemption of the black race. The second of those great objects is, with ordinary faithfulness and prudence in conducting the affairs of the Society and the colony, already rendered nearly certain. Freedom and religion and civilized life have been transplanted in the persons of her own sons, into that desolate continent, and we commit to God the issue on which His own glory is so deeply staked. What the Colonization Society is *now doing*, would, at the end of a single century, if continued at the same rate, exhibit more than a million of persons in Liberia, as the fruits of its operations. I speak of course of the natural increase of the people sent there as well as the emigrants themselves, basing the calculation upon the rate of increase among ourselves. Let us take heart then, and go forward in the work, and the ends of the earth will call us blessed.

As for America, we are doing nothing; and for the black race here, alas! how little. The operations of the Society have not removed from the country perhaps one in many hundreds of the annual increase of the black population since its operations commenced. The annual increase from 1830 to 1840, will not vary much from eighty thousand a year. At its rate of removal since the first of those periods, the Society has not removed yearly one out of every hundred of the increase. If its operations were so much increased, that it would take off yearly one in forty of the annual increase, which would be a great augmentation, as compared with the past, the yearly increase would then be diminished only two per cent. Now if that advanced rate were attained, and preserved for a whole century, the result would be, that we should at the end of it have nearly sixteen millions of slaves left here, besides free coloured people, and exclusive of all that were carried abroad, supposing every one carried to have been a slave. This presents an aspect of the case which is most deplorable as it relates to America. Nor does it stop here. For before that century is one-half elapsed, if the spirit which now actuates the abolitionists towards the slave owners, or even that which is beginning to manifest itself in a portion of our people towards the lower classes of foreign emigrants into our country, should take possession of the colonists in Africa, all future transportation of coloured people thither would be at an end. Let them once be persuaded that to receive our manumitted slaves, is to retard the cause of freedom here; or that to receive our free vagabonds coerced away from the slave States, is jeopardizing their own condition, and how long after that will they receive either? That colony will be a nation, powerful and respected, before this generation passes entirely away. Those are now alive, who will yet see her banner float proudly over the mighty outline of an empire. And where will then be an outlet for our slaves? Let us not deceive ourselves on this most vital point. Can any tell, by statistical tables, where the million of people who inhabit Ohio came from within fifty years? Or even where the thirty or forty millions of white people in the new world came from in the last few centuries? And so we may people Africa with nations of blacks, if we will only do it gradually, without seeming to diminish even their rate of increase among ourselves. We are actually doing this very thing; we are just doing enough to prevent our doing any thing hereafter to mitigate our condition.

Let us then arise, and do this work as becomes men sensible of the greatness of the obligation which rests upon us, and the imminency of the peril that impends over us. There is in reality but one question presented to us; do we prefer giving up the blacks alone, which we can do now, or waiting and then giving them up with some of the fairest portions of our republic as a recompense? Or, if we choose to vary the question, do we prefer giving fifty or an hundred millions of dollars to restore them to their native land: or a thousand millions to pay mercenaries to make them work, and finally to cut their throats? Our condition is like that of him who held a tiger by the ears until he was afraid to let him go, and was conscious

he could not hold him much longer. Now a giant is passing by and offers to relieve us.— Shall we wisely accept his aid and live; or shall we madly struggle on and take what chance may bring us? May God give us wisdom!

THOUGHTS ON THE COLONIZATION OF FREE BLACKS.

[These thoughts are from the pen of the venerable Dr. Finley, to whom belongs more, than to any one individual, the honour of being the Founder of the American Colonization Society. They show how pure and benevolent were the motives, how elevated and comprehensive the views of this devoted Minister of Christ, when he proposed the establishment of this Institution. These thoughts were, we believe, published in Washington a few days only before the original meeting at which the Society was organized.— There is a soberness and practicableness in the opinions of this holy Philanthropist which must commend them to the serious consideration of all wise men.]

What shall we do with the free people of color? What can we do for their happiness consistently with our own? Are questions often asked by the thinking mind. The desire to make them happy has often been felt, but the difficulty of devising and accomplishing an efficient plan has hitherto appeared too great for humanity itself to accomplish. The mind shrunk back from the attempt. The time was not arrived. The servitude of the sons of Ham, described by Noah, in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the future condition of his posterity, was not terminated. At present, as if by a divine impulse, men of virtue, piety, and reflection, are turning their thoughts to this subject, and seem to see the wished for plan unfolding, *in the gradual separation of the black from the white population, by providing for the former, some suitable situation where they may enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled by nature and their Creator's will.* This is a great subject, and there are several weighty questions connected with it, which deserve a deep consideration.

Is it a practicable thing to form a colony of free blacks in our own wild lands, or on the coast of Africa?

Is it probable that the establishment would be productive of general happiness?

What is the most desirable situation for such a settlement? In what manner, and by whom might such a colony be planted with the greatest hope of success?

Much wisdom would no doubt be required in arranging a plan of so much magnitude, and some perseverance in executing it and carrying it to perfection. But it cannot be supposed to be among the things which are impracticable, to plant a colony, either of blacks or whites, either in Africa, or in some remote district of our own country. Most nations have had their colonies. Greece and Rome planted many which grew and flourished, and which, as they grew, added strength and lustre to the mother country. At the present time, there are few nations who have not their foreign settlements, and some of them from year to year are increasing the numbers of their colonies. With what ease is Great Britain transplanting a part of her population, in the remotest regions of the earth, and peopling New Holland, a land destined like our own to extend the empire of liberty and Christian blessings to surrounding nations.* It does not appear that it would require much greater skill or labor to form a separate establishment for free blacks in our own distant territories, than it is to form a new state. The people of color observing the constant emigration of the whites, would soon feel the common impulse, if they could see a place where they might remove, and which they could fondly call their own. Many have both the means and disposition to go to any reasonable distance, or even to a great distance where they could assume the rank of men, and act their part upon the great theatre of life. Their local attachments are no stronger than those of other men, their ambition no less than that of any other color.

To colonize them in Africa would be a much more arduous undertaking. The country must be explored and some situation chosen, fertile and healthy—expense must be incurred in fair and honorable purchase from the natives—an honorable appeal *perhaps* be made to the nations of Europe, as to the justice and humanity of our views. An efficient government must for a time at least be afforded to the colony—the free blacks must be instructed that it would be to their interest to remove to the land which gave them origin, and instruction

* It is a remarkable instance of the mysterious and inscrutable ways of Providence, that the colony of New Holland which is principally composed of British convicts, has become flourishing; its inhabitants peaceable, orderly and industrious, and through the instrumentality of missionaries, Christianity is flourishing among them; and through them likely to extend civilization, and the benefits of the Christian religion, to the ignorant and superstitious natives of that country and the adjacent islands.

provided to raise their minds to that degree of Knowledge, which in time would fit them for self-government. "These difficulties are real and some of them might be found to be very great, but they are not insurmountable." We have wisdom in our councils, and energy in our government. In such an undertaking we should have reason and the God of eternal Justice on our side. Humanity has many a virtuous son who would willingly and carefully explore the long line of African coast which has not fallen under the dominion of any European nation. Their devotedness to their country's interest and glory would make them faithful to their undertaking, and their desire for the happiness of the free people of color, would induce them if possible to find a country where health and plenty might be enjoyed. The consent of the chiefs to part with a sufficient portion of soil, might be easily obtained, especially when they were informed that the sole design of the colony, was to restore their own children and bring them back free and happy. From what has often taken place on the coast of Africa, we may be assured that the cost of procuring the right of soil, by fair and just purchase, would not be great. The expense of conveying the first settlers, of maintaining a sufficient force to protect the colony, and of supplying the wants of the colonists for a short period might be more considerable. Yet the wisdom of congress might devise some means of lightening, perhaps of repaying, the cost. Many of the free people of color have property sufficient to transport, and afterward to establish themselves. The ships of war might be employed occasionally in this service, while many would indent themselves to procure a passage to the land of their independence. The crews of the national ships which might be from time to time at the colony would furnish at least a part of that protection which would be necessary for the settlers: and in a little time the trade which the colony would open with the interior, would more than compensate for every expense, if the colony were wisely formed. "From the single river of Sierra Leone, where there is a colony of free people of color, the imports in Great Britain were nearly, and the exports to the same river fully, equal to the imports and exports, exclusive of the slave trade of the whole extent of the western coast of Africa, prior to the abolition of that traffic."* To allay the jealousies of other nations, which might arise from our establishing a settlement in Africa, a successful appeal might be made to their justice and humanity. It would be only doing as they have done should no such appeal be made. Spain has her settlements in Africa. France on the rivers Gambia and Senegal, Great Britain, at Sierra Leone and the Cape. Portugal, in Congo and Loango. On the principles of justice no nation would have a right to interfere with our intentions. Moreover, in this period of the world when the voice of justice and humanity begins to be listened to with attention, is there not reason to hope, that plans, the sole design of which is the benefit of the human race, would be approved in the cabinets of princes and hailed by the benevolent of all nations? The colony would not suffer for want of instructors, in morals, religion and the useful arts of life. The time at last is come when not a few are imbibing the spirit of Him who came from Heaven "to seek and save the lost." That spirit is only beginning to go forth, which has already been so successful in teaching the Caffre, the Hottentot, the Boshemen, the means of present happiness and the way of eternal life.† In the mean time the great efforts which are making to improve the mental condition of the people of color, seems designed in Providence to prepare them for some great and happy change in their situation.

It need not be apprehended, that these people would be unwilling to remove to the proposed establishment. To suppose this, is to suppose that they do not long after happiness, that they do not feel the common pride and feelings of men. In some of our great cities there are associations formed to open a correspondence with the colony at Sierra Leone, and prepare their minds for a removal to a colony should it be ever formed.‡ The colony at Sierra Leone on the western coast of Africa, seems as if designed by God to obviate every difficulty, to silence objections, and point out the way in which every obstacle may be removed, if measures sufficiently wise are adopted in establishing a similar colony from this country.—The colony alluded to was first established in the year 1791. Its first settlers were a few people of color who were in Great Britain, and from 1100 to 1200 of the same description in Nova Scotia. In the year 1811, the population had increased to 2000 exclusive of many natives, notwithstanding the sickness and mortality incident to a new settlement, and the settlement being once destroyed by the French. In the year 1816, the population had increased to 3000.§ All this has been accomplished or at least it was originated, and for many years

* Ninth Report of African Institution.

† A plan of a school was laid in New York, October, 1816, for the purpose of training young people of color, as teachers for those of their own color, in this country, and to have a supply of instructors ready for the proposed colony, should it be ever formed.

‡ Such an association exists in Philadelphia.

§ "Early in the winter of 1816, about thirty people of color left Boston with a view of settling themselves in the British colony at Sierra Leone, in Africa. The vessel in which they sailed was the property and under the command of the celebrated Paul Cuffee. Captain Cuffee has returned to this country, and brings letters from the emigrants to their friends and benefactors.—We have seen one of the letters dated April 3, 1816. It states that they all arrived safe at Sierra Leone, after a passage of 55 days, and were welcomed by all in the colony. The place is represented as "good." They have fruits of all kinds and at all seasons of the year. The governor gave each family a lot of land in the town, and fifty acres of "good land" in the country, or more in proportion to their families. Their land in the country is about two miles from town. They have plenty of rice and corn, and all other food that is good. There were five churches in the colony, and three or four schools, in one of which there were 150 female Africans, who are taught to read the word of God." The Boston Recorder.

maintained by a company of benevolent and enterprising men, by men too who are far removed from those places where free blacks are to be found. What then might be done under the blessing of that Being who wills the happiness of all His creatures, by the American government, aided by the benevolence of all its citizens, and surrounded with thousands who would be willing to emigrate, and many of whom could carry with them property, the useful arts of life, and above all, the knowledge of the benign religion of Christ.

Is it probable that the general good would be promoted by the establishment of such a colony? If there is not reason to believe that it would be for the general benefit, the idea ought to be given up and the scheme rejected. But is there not reason to believe that the interest of the whites and the free people of color would be equally promoted, by the latter being colonized in some suitable situation? It can scarcely be doubted that slavery has an injurious effect on the morals and habits of a country where it exists. It insensibly induces a habit of indolence. Idleness seldom fails to be attended with dissipation. Should the time ever come when slavery shall not exist in these States; yet if the people of color remain among us, the effect of their presence will be unfavorable to our industry and morals? The recollection of their former servitude will keep alive the feeling that they were formed for labor, and that the descendants of their former masters, ought to be exempt at least from the more humble and toilsome pursuits of life. The gradual withdrawing of the blacks would insensibly, and from an easy necessity induce habits of industry, and along with it a love of order and religion. Could they be removed to some situation where they might live alone, society would be saved many a pang which now is felt, and must in course of time be much more sensibly felt from the intermixture of the different colors, and at the same time be relieved from a heavy burden, in supporting that large portion of this people which falls into poverty and must be maintained by others. If the benefit of the proposed separation would be considerable to those States where the people of color are comparatively few, how great would it be to those where they are very numerous. The love of liberty which prevails in those States, must be attended with a desire to see abolished a system so contrary to the best feelings of our natures. But however strong the desires of many, however lively the impressions of the great principles of right, or however pungent the convictions of a dying bed, it is believed to be unsafe to encourage the idea of emancipation. The evil therefore increases every year, and the gloomy picture grows darker continually, so that the question is often and anxiously asked—*What will be the end of all this?* The most natural and easy answer seems to be—Let no time be lost—let a colony or colonies be formed on the coast of Africa, and let laws be passed permitting the emancipation of slaves on condition that they shall be colonized. By this means the evil of slavery will be diminished, and in a way so gradual as to prepare the whites for the happy and progressive change.

The benefits of the proposed plan to the race of blacks appear to be numerous and great. That they are capable of improvement is not to be contradicted, and that their improvement progresses daily, notwithstanding every obstacle, is not to be denied. Their capacity for self-government whether denied or not, is ever present to our view in the Island of St. Domingo. But it is in vain that we believe them capable of improvement, or that we are convinced that they are equal to the task of governing themselves, unless this unhappy people are separated from their former masters. The friends of man will strive in vain to raise them to a proper level while they remain among us. They will be kept down, on the one side by prejudice, too deep rooted to be eradicated; on the other, by the recollection of former inferiority, and despair of ever assuming an equal standing in society. Remove them.—Place them by themselves in some climate, congenial with their color and constitutions, and in some fruitful soil; their contracted minds will then expand and their natures rise. The hope of place and power will soon create the feeling that they are men. Give them the hope of becoming possessed of power and influence, and the pleasure of their invigorated minds will be similar to ours in like circumstances. At present they have few incentives to industry and virtue, compared with those which they would feel, in a land which they could call their own, and where there was no competition except with their own color.

This great enterprise, must be undertaken; either by a union of virtuous and pious individuals, as in the case of the colony of Sierra Leone, already mentioned, in its original state; or by the government of the United States. Perhaps on mature deliberation, it might appear a work worthy of the government, and one that could be accomplished with the greatest ease and in the most efficient manner under the patronage of the nation. None but the nation's arm could reach to all the situations in which the free blacks are placed through our extended country, nor any but its councils be wise enough to accommodate the various interests which ought to be consulted in so great an undertaking. If wrong has been done to Africa in forcing away her weeping children, the wrong can be best redressed, by that power which did the injury. If Heaven has been offended, by putting chains on those, whom by its eternal laws it has willed to be free, the same hand which provoked the divine displeasure, should offer the atoning sacrifice. Under a former government this guilt and evil were brought principally upon our land; but for many years the State governments, under the eye of the general government, continued this great violation of the laws of nature. Let then the representatives of this great and free people, not only feel it to be their interest, but their duty and glory to repair the injuries done to humanity by our ancestors by restoring to independence those who were forced from their native land, and are now found among us.

It remains yet to answer the question: Should Congress in their wisdom adopt the proposed measure; would it best answer the end designed, to plant the colony in some distant section of our country, or in the land to which their color and original constitution are adapted?

If fixed in the territories of the United States, the expense of procuring soil might be saved, and the difficulty of removing settlers to the appointed place would be diminished, especially if the colony were planted at no very great distance in the interior. But these advantages would be in part counterbalanced, by having in our vicinity an independent settlement of people who were once our slaves. There might be cause of dread lest they should occasionally combine with our Indian neighbors, or with those European nations who have settlements adjacent to our own, and we should have them for our enemies. However great the distance at which such a settlement would be made in our own country, it would furnish great facility to the slaves in the nearest States, to desert their masters' service, and escape to a land where their own race was sovereign and independent. An easy communication would also be open to send information to those who remain in slavery, so as to make them uneasy in their servitude. If removed to Africa, these last difficulties would disappear, or be greatly diminished. There we should have nothing to fear from their becoming our enemies. Removed far from our sight; our contempt of them, produced by their situation, and by long habit confirmed, would gradually die away, and their jealousy and suspicion proportionably decrease. The colony could never become an asylum for fugitive slaves, and but little opportunity could be afforded to communicate with this country in such a manner as to render the slaves uneasy in their masters' service. On the other hand, great and happy results might be produced by their being colonized in Africa. It is the country of their fathers, a climate suited to their color, and one to which their constitution, but partially altered by their abode in this country, would soon adapt itself. Who can tell the blessings which might in this way be conferred on Africa herself, when her strangers should be restored, and she should receive her children redeemed from bondage by the humanity of America, and by the hand of virtue and religion restored from their captivity. With what delight would she view them, improved in arts, in civilization and in knowledge of the true God.—She would forget her sorrows, her wounds would be healed, and she would bless the hands of her benefactors. Do we not owe to that hapless country a debt contracted by our fathers; and how can we so well repay it, as by transporting to her shores a multitude of its own descendants, who have learned the arts of life and are softened by the power of true religion, and who can therefore be instrumental in taming and placing in fixed abodes, the wild and wandering people who now roam over that great section of the globe. A nation of Christians ought to believe that all the earth is destined to enjoy happiness under the dominion of the Prince of peace. Africa is not forgotten by Him who "feeds the sparrows." The spirit of her people shall arise. Her sons shall assume their proper dignity, and she shall yet rejoice in her Creator's favor. Heaven executes its purposes by human agents, and perhaps this may be one of those means which are laid up in store to bless the sable millions that now exist, the pity of angels, but the scorn of thoughtless man. Could any thing be deemed so effectual for the happiness of that portion of the world as the plan proposed? In this way there might soon be fixed a seat of liberal learning in Africa, from which the rays of knowledge might dart across those benighted regions. Is it too much to believe it possible that *He* who brings light out of darkness, and good out of evil, has suffered so great an evil to exist as African slavery, that in a land of civil liberty and religious knowledge, thousands and tens of thousands might at the appointed time be prepared to return, and be the great instrument of spreading peace and happiness. Let not these reflections be thought wholly visionary. We know that the ways of the great Ruler of the world and director of events are wonderful and great beyond calculation. We know that great and increasing benefits arise to the natives of Africa from the colony at Sierra Leone. From the vicinity of that colony, the son of an African chief, who has seen and felt its benefits, thus writes in the summer of 1815: "What a happy thing it is to see the peaceable state that this country is now in! quiet and free from slave vessels!—no dragging of families from one another!—no innumerable slaves chained together, male and female! and the enemies of humanity, the slave traders, gradually quitting the country! It has struck me forcibly, that where the gospel makes its appearance, there satan's kingdom gradually diminishes. May God give grace and perseverance to his servants to carry on his work; and make them instruments in His hands of bringing them to perfection." On the fourth of June, 1815, ninety children and one adult were baptized into the faith of Christ in the colony. On which occasion the same young prince thus writes:—"I never was better pleased in my lifetime than to see so many of my countrymen brought so far as to be baptized, and particularly when I saw a grown up native come forward to be baptized. We had likewise the happiness of seeing our church so full, that some were obliged to stand out of doors. Five or six of the native chiefs were present on the occasion. I had more hopes that day than I ever had of those poor perishing countrymen of mine."—The period in which we live is big with great events, and as happy as they are great. It is pregnant with greater still. We have lived to see the day when man has begun to learn the lesson of freedom and happiness. America is blessed with every blessing civil and religious. Europe begins slowly but sensibly to reform her governments. The gloomy and dread superstitions of Asia, begin to totter before the gospel of Christ. Nor shall Africa be forgotten. Her bosom begins to warm with hope, and her heart to beat with expectation and desire.—Toward this land of liberty she turns her eyes, and to the representatives of this great and free people, she stretches forth her hands, panting for the return of her absent sons and daughters. Happy America if she shall endeavor not only to rival other nations, in arts and arms, but to equal and exceed them in the great cause of humanity, which has begun its never ending course.

* Appendix to Christian Observer, for 1815.

MR. BACON'S LETTERS.

No. II.

TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY.—My Dear Sir: I was much interested in learning, from the minutes attached to your last Annual Report, that a *projet* of a revised Constitution has been brought before the Society, and having been discussed to some extent, has been laid over for further consideration at the next annual meeting. By your kind attention, I have been favored with a printed copy of the proposed new constitution. I do not propose to examine in detail the provisions and arrangements of that instrument; but, with your liberty, I will suggest a few general considerations, connected with the subject thus introduced to the notice of the friends of our cause.

The operations of the American Colonization Society have already become so extended, and so important, that it is of no small moment to secure for the institution the safest and most efficient organization. The managers of the Society are the agents, or trustees, for the application of something like thirty thousand dollars annually, contributed by Christian and philanthropic individuals in behalf of one great interest of humanity. The amount thus contributed, comes not from the rich only; much of it comes from those who esteem it a privilege to impart, from the scantiest resources, from the earnings of their daily toil, something in aid of the great enterprises that seek to advance the happiness of men, and the glory of God. A profuse, a careless, an unthrifty expenditure of such funds, is a sort of sacrilege.—The men who are the agents for conveying such charities to their object, ought to act, not only under a sense of the sacredness of their charge, but also, with every practicable facility and advantage for the most efficient and economical action. Every cent of such a fund ought to be made to tell, on the end to which the benevolence of the donors destined it. The constitution of the Society ought to afford the greatest possible security that such shall be the result.

What are the functions of the executive department of the American Colonization Society? I wish that the members of the Society were better informed than I fear they are, in respect to the variety and arduousness of the duties constantly devolving on their Board of Managers, at Washington. To those managers it belongs, by their appeals through the press, and by their living agents, to rouse the public to sympathy and co-operation. To them it belongs, to concentrate upon themselves, by the light of their own zeal, energy, and self-devotedness, that measure of public confidence which shall make every enlightened and philanthropic man, however cautious in his temper, most ready to co-operate with them; and which shall place them manifestly at the head of the great work of regenerating the African race, and shall enable them to draw every kindred movement into the train of their efforts. To them it belongs to superintend, in all the United States, from New York to New Orleans, the collection, outfit, and transportation of emigrants, and their support in Africa till they are in a condition to provide entirely for themselves. To them it belongs to see that none are admitted to the privileges of the Colony, but the honest, the industrious, the worthy; and to see that such persons are treated with all the fidelity and kindness due to their worth, and to their spirit of enterprise for their own good, and for the good of their posterity and of their race.—And what, more than any thing else, makes their responsibility pre-eminent and peculiar—to them it belongs to govern a community four thousand miles distant, which, more than most others, needs the wisest, kindest, most efficient, and steady government. It is a new phenomenon in the history of legislation and civil polity, that the supreme government of a young and growing nation in Africa—a government sustained by no military or naval force—a government pre-eminently dependent on the consent of the governed, and on their experience of its utility,—resides, for the present, and if rightly administered, will reside for some years to come, in the annually elected Board of Managers of an unchartered and unendowed benevolent association, here in America. The Governor of the Colony is appointed by those managers, and is immediately and constantly responsible to them. The laws enacted by the Governor in council, are only temporary edicts, till approved by them. The funds by which the government is supported, and all its measures prosecuted, are drawn from their treasury; and the affairs of that government are every year becoming greater and more complicated.—How important, then, is it, that the organization of the Society should be such as to secure the greatest attention to its concerns, and the greatest promptitude, economy, and efficiency of action.

In order to this, it seems important, first, that the management be confided to a few individuals. A committee of five, or seven, can superintend the business of the executive department far better than if they were twice as numerous. Such a committee might employ and direct agents, either to appeal to the public for assistance, or to attend to the collection and outfit of emigrants; they might receive reports from the Colony, and superintend the entire administration of its affairs; and they might do all this as well, to say the least, as a much larger body. It would be difficult, I think, to suggest any advantage which would be gained by a larger committee. The larger the body, the greater is the difficulty of obtaining a full meeting, and the greater the liability to factions and divisions; while the feeling of individual responsibility is proportionally diminished. Every member of a small committee is expected to attend every meeting; and if one habitually or frequently neglect to attend, he

will either resign his place, or be excused by his constituents from farther service. But where the responsibility is divided among fifteen or twenty, it is sometimes quite otherwise.

A small committee, however, ought by no means to be invested with an irresponsible power. To such an organization as will best secure our end, it is equally important that there be not a nominal and formal, but a real and minute responsibility of the executive to the Society. The annual report should be presented to a meeting, representing as fairly and completely as possible, the actual contributors to the funds of the institution. This meeting ought to be not an affair of form and speech-making merely, but a meeting for the transaction of business. It ought not to be dispatched in a single evening, but should be prolonged, from day to day, till all the details of the proceedings for the year under review shall have been carefully looked into; and till every subject on which conference between the managers and their constituents is important, shall have been fairly and fully discussed.

As to the actual organization of the Society, I have only to call your attention, and that of your readers, to two facts. The first is obvious from an inspection of the constitution, and of the published catalogue of officers; the second I learned by a personal attendance on one of our anniversary meetings. Taken together, they seem to deserve consideration.

First: who, and how many, are the managers of our Society? They are, the President, the Vice Presidents, (at present 29 in number) the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Recorder, and 12 other members—in all 45. Besides all these, every officer of every auxiliary Society in the United States is authorised to attend and vote at all the meetings of the Board of Managers. How many of this indefinite number actually attend the ordinary meetings of the Board, I have no means of ascertaining. The constitution does not define any number as necessary to the transaction of business.

Secondly: to whom are the Board accountable, and by whom are their proceedings reviewed? I shall be told that the managers always present their report at the annual meeting of the Society, and that to the Society they are responsible. But if the annual meeting which I had the privilege of attending, was a specimen of the annual meetings of the Colonization Society, this revision is far less minute and thorough than seems desirable. I cannot look upon the miscellaneous congregation that assembles in the Representatives' Hall, to hear the annual report and speeches, as being a perfect, or even a fair representation of the actual contributors to the funds of the Society. Nor can I consider the formalities of such a meeting, as constituting any approximation to that extended and particular conference which ought to be had, at least once in each year, between the managers and their constituents.

For these reasons, while I would be far from intimating any impeachment of the fidelity of those gentlemen who have conducted the operations of the Society, and under whose administration the cause has gone forward so prosperously, in the face of many difficulties, I cannot but express my satisfaction that the re-organization of the Society is proposed, and my confident hope that such arrangements will be made, as shall infuse new vigor into all our movements, and secure new triumphs for our cause. Yours, &c.

LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., 2d JANUARY, 1834.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[The following article is taken nearly entire from the Dumfries (Scottish) Journal. It shows the opinions of our English friends in regard to the moral tendency of the Society; but perhaps we are not sufficiently aware to what extent the Society is sustained by the opinions and charities of the South.]

The friends of the Dumfries Liberian Society lie under no necessity of defending the conduct of their American fellow labourers with the view of recommending to the favour of the public the principles which they themselves have adopted, because the plan of colonizing the coast of Africa with free blacks, viewed as a British object, must stand or fall on its own merits, as the means of civilizing and Christianizing that injured continent, whatever may be the views of its transatlantic supporters. But it is undoubtedly a matter of no trifling importance to be able to show that the arguments by which an attempt has been made to prejudice the public mind against the Society in which this admirable scheme originated, are altogether void of any solid foundation. One of the most imposing and influential of these arguments, as our readers are aware, is that the Colonization Society, under the show of promoting the interests of the free blacks, was in fact covertly supporting slavery in America; the object of many of its advocates being as is al-

leged, to get quit of the one class that they may have it in their power more closely to rivet the chains round the limbs of the other. There seemed to be something so very preposterous in this statement that it never made any impression on our own mind, more especially, knowing as we did the benevolent and Christian source in which the Society took its rise. We have indeed been enabled in more than one instance to afford direct evidence that the opponents of the Colonization scheme in the United States take up ground directly the reverse of its opponents on this side of the Atlantic. * *

To the documents we have already published in proof of this opinion, we are happy to add another, copied from the *Columbia*, a South Carolina paper in the interests of the slaveholders. The article in question is headed "Colonization is Abolition;" and, after inserting an excellent letter of Professor Porter in favour of the Colonization Society, the Editor goes on to say:—

"Such disclaimers as this should not clear up the Southern distrust of Northern interference with the dangerous, nay, fatal subject. Dangerous, we mean to Southern tranquillity—fatal to the present political connection between the North and us. What care we for disclaimers while the incendiary work goes on; or of what value are the disavowals of the politic, while these very men are, perhaps, all the while the most dangerous promoters of all that can work us mischief? The universal ground on which these people place their assurances to us, is the constitution of the United States. Do they mean to mock us? Which of our rights that the majority ever thought it worth their while to invade did the constitution ever secure us in? * * Another equally general ground of their defence is, that they are not in favour of Mr. Garrison's plans—that they are advocates and zealous promoters of Colonization. This it seems ought to satisfy the South. And yet, which of these two plans is most dangerous to us? which has done us most hurt?—Not that of the open and direct abolitionists certainly. If slave property is made insecure—if the quiet and content of the negro is chased away—if the timid among our own people catch the alarm, and by their weakness assist the efforts for injuring our property and lessening our safety—we owe it, not to the wild fanatics whose notions our people can in no sort adopt, but to that other and subtler plan, which, while equally impracticable as to what it aims at, yet allures men into it merely by seeming to offer a middle way. It is utterly incapable of effecting the object it avows in the South. It does promote in the best possible manner—the only possible manner, the scheme of its rival—the scheme which in the South it disavows. The North prefer it *not because it does not aim at abolition, but because it offers the surest and speediest means of accomplishing it.* To that its operations are rapidly leading. If the present union continue, that Society will go on enlarging, extending itself, making fresh converts, organizing a larger and larger army of beggars and preachers, whose zeal will grow with their success, and with the fame and gain of the enterprise. The negroes they cannot remove, except just enough to disquiet the rest. How should half a nation be removed 3,000 miles? But the Society will go on, till by spreading a wider and fiercer zeal, by rendering the negro restless, by making his labour unprofitable, it will at last drive the master in mere despair, to try the mad and sudden remedy which all this was preparing. Then will come avowed and direct abolition, under the auspices of this very Society."

We do not know that a single word more is necessary in order to show the utter injustice of the attack which has been made on the American Colonization Society on the ground of their being abettors of slavery. Here is a most zealous and thorough-paced advocate of the slave system, who proves to demonstration that the very opposite is the true view of the subject; and that the friends of slavery have not more dangerous enemies than that Society.—But we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of giving one or two extracts from documents of a more private nature which have been communicated to us.

Copy of a Letter from Mrs. Sigourney, the celebrated American Poetess, to a Member of the Edinburgh Ladies' Liberian Society, dated Hartford, July 4th, 1833.

"MY DEAR MRS. —:—With what delight have I perused your letter, enclosing the circular, and the noble expression of the feelings of the Ladies of Edinburgh for Liberia, that little Zoar in a waste and howling desert. I pray you to permit me to extend across the ocean the hand of fervent, sisterly affection. May the Angel of the Everlasting Covenant bless every one of you, and gather you at last under his wings, where there is fullness of joy.

"You enquire respecting the sentiments of the coloured population of New England, on the subject of emigration to Liberia. They are, to a considerable extent, prejudiced against it. The leaders of the emancipation party, have taken pains by disseminating newspapers among them, and by public addresses to them, as well as by private letters to the more intelligent, to convince them that there is wildness in the designs of the Colonization Society; that the slaves are driven thither against their will as to a charnel house or sepulchre.— Their minds not being trained to logical reasoning, have very generally taken assertion for fact; and but slight efforts to undeceive them have been made. Their opinions as a body of people, on this point, have been but little regarded. The friends of the Colonization Society in this region, have been too much occupied with mightier matters, to turn aside for the scruples of those who had no grievance to be redressed. They have kept their eye steadily on the miseries of the slave, and upon the throne of that Being who hath power to break the yoke of the oppressor. They have feared that those good men who have thought themselves bound by conscience to oppose them, and to demand entire and immediate abolition, were but rivetting the chains of the slave. For an evil that has been wrought for centuries into the elements of material existence twisted with the framework of society,—incorporated with the interests and passions and senses of men, is not to be suddenly or slightly exterminated like a rootless weed. None can more deeply than themselves deplore the guilt of slavery, its warfare with the free and just spirit of this Gospel, and its peculiar stain on the annals of a nation so conspicuously professing freedom, and promising equal rights to all. But the very magnitude of the evil demands judgment in the choice of the remedy. Indiscriminate zeal, while it destroys the tares, might root up the wheat also. To establish a colony in Africa, by voluntary removal, to restore the kidnapped race to their sorrowing mother, fitted not only to rise to the level which for ages had been denied them, but to be instruments of her own regeneration, is a policy safe, philanthropic and Christian, and one which God hath deigned signally to bless. The only argument adduced against it which possesses much force, is its feebleness and inadequacy to the extent of the evil. But let Christian zeal arise in its energy and majesty, and this reproach shall be wiped away. Let the votaries of benevolence labour, and the prayers of the saints go up and cease not, till Africa to her utmost limits become a Liberia for the returning exile, till our dark browed brethren forget the name of slave, and Ethiopia, stretching out her hands to God, implore forgiveness for those who have repaid earthly wrongs with the news of a Saviour.

"May the divine blessing continually be with and around you.—Your sincere friend,
"LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY."

Extract of a letter from Miss Margaret Mercer, a lady of Maryland.

"Cedar Park, June 25th, 1833.

"I am endeavouring to extend a Society which has been in operation for some time, under the denomination of the "Cedar Park Liberian Society." Our plan is to aid in establishing a high school in Liberia; for which purpose we propose this year to devote our funds to educating two young men selected by the Governor of Liberia for the purpose—supporting and giving them every advantage of a perfect course of College exercises in *Edinburgh*.

(Signed)

"MARGARET MERCER."

COLONIZATION A MORAL EXPERIMENT.

"The faith which is most wanted, is a faith in what we and our fellow beings may become, a faith in the divine germ or principle in every soul."

DR. CHANNING.

The Colonization scheme presents to the reflecting mind, subjects of thought as various as they are important. No topic of national interest combines in itself such an amount of material, fitted to attract the serious attention, and enlist the warmest sympathies of the philosophical and enthusiastic—the patriot and philanthropist. Whether we view it as the only constitutional

method yet devised for the removal of slavery, or regard it as the blessed agent for morally renovating a benighted continent; whether we hail it as destined to give the death-blow to that detestable traffic which modern legislation has brought under the ban of the law, or contemplate, as its direct result, the advancement of a degraded portion of the human race, it is rife with momentous considerations and glowing with thrilling interest.

It is however to the latter, its prominent aim, and one involving the consummation of every other object, that I turn with peculiar regard and intense hope, and to this point I would devote a few remarks.

It will readily be granted, I think, by all the advocates and friends of the colored population, that the chief counter influence, against which they are obliged to struggle, is the force of prejudice. However various in degree, and however modified by circumstances,—*this* is the main element of all opposition to the progress of this species of philanthropic enterprise. And it is equally evident, to the intelligent observer, that a want of confidence in the native capacity of the blacks, a distrust of their mental and moral constitution as affording a sure basis for the developement of those master principles of individual and national greatness—self-government and self-improvement—is the latent or direct foundation of a sentiment so unfavorable to themselves and their cause.

The immediate consequence of such an opinion is a *want of interest* in the blacks. There may be, and doubtless is, christian principle enough to prevent, in most instances, the natural growth of simple prejudice into positive dislike, but scarcely sufficient to awaken any worthy feeling of hopefulness and respect, in the minds of the multitude. To inspire and sustain such a sentiment, human nature must be addressed through her best sympathies. There must be something which speaks of ancient nobleness mingled with the degradation of a people, to excite, in their behalf, deep and enthusiastic commiseration.

Our own community and its pervading spirit afford ample illustration of this truth. The cause of free institutions, and of freedom of opinion has been peculiarly our own. We have seen how powerfully public sympathy is aroused in favor of the oppressed yet magnanimous of the old world. How readily and extensively was this spirit enlisted in behalf of martyred Poland! And, when excited by the sufferings of Greece, how soon it subsided when her chains were unspurned and unresisted! How eloquently have the good and great among us plead for the unenslaved but nearly annihilated Indian, and with what pathos and beauty have our poets sung his melancholy fate, while, a reference to abstract principles—to the rights of man—to the evil and sin of human bondage—to the duties of religion and benevolence—is alone adequate to warm the hearts of the many towards the African. Himself must be wreathed with the claims of his cause to attract the ardent attention of his fellow beings. Not to him do men turn, as to one who retains even a faint impression of individuality, but as belonging to an abject race, possessing the common attributes of humanity, in a very common degree, the victim of degrading circumstances upon whom they have wrought their 'perfect work.' That such a view is rational or christian, far be it from me to affirm; that it is one which, in the present state of the world, is to be expected, and one that is actually and prevalently existent—I feel to be true.

And, I would ask, what means of kindling up a brighter, and more perfect sympathy, a wider and deeper interest, in favor of the colored population, lie within the scope of human ability and come recommended, by their intrinsic excellence and reasonableness, to human nature? The answer is plain. Let us afford every facility for the free developement of African character, in its best forms. Let it expand in the invigorating atmosphere of freedom, but let the early breath of that bracing and renovating air be modified and its efficiency enhanced by every auspicious influence. Let the physical circumstances, and the social spirit, amid which it is inhaled, speak a

kindred and encouraging language. Above all, let religion and education, in purity and power, lend the aid of their divine ministry, and the incentives to a holy ambition and the occasions for active excellence be neither few nor small.

Such is the method alike indicated by philosophy and intelligent benevolence. And such a course is avowedly and obviously designated by the Colonization scheme, and is now carrying into effect under the benign auspices of the American Colonization Society. I thankfully recognize in the system of this Institution a means which, with the blessing of Heaven, is to improve and ennoble a class of mankind, against whose highest interests the whole force of physical condition and public sentiment has been long and fearfully arrayed. My anticipations on this point are based on a view of existing facts, and a recurrence to the first principles of human nature and the essential conditions of human improvement.

The testimony of individual consciousness and the world's history declares, that light and warmth are not more requisite to vegetative expansion, than is education, religion, liberty, to the soul's advancement. Ay, liberty—not that liberty only which leaves the body unshackled, but spiritual freedom—bringing with it a sense of dignity, an elevation of sentiment and a manly confidence, without which outward freedom is a vain and a dangerous gift.—To confer this genuine liberty, I believe to be the object of the Colonization plan. It would strike off the fetters of the slave, and at the same time, place him under influences calculated to disenthral his spirit from the bondage of ignorance, superstition and vice. It would remove the victim of a depressing prejudice into scenes fitted to promote his growth in self-respect and self-improvement. In short, it would make 'a freeman of the slave and a citizen of the freeman.'

Nor does a design so noble fail to recommend itself to those whom it so nearly concerns. I have heard an aged and comparatively prosperous applicant for the Society's aid, speak on the occasion the language of nature and truth. 'To me indeed,' said he, 'emigration promises little, but when I look upon my boys, and reflect that they have before them no prospect of advancement in society, and will rank lower than the lowest of the whites, I feel that for *their* sakes, I must go to Liberia.'

It was well said by that beautiful moralist and profound philosopher, Sir James Mackintosh, 'the more mind, the greater compass of motive,' and it may be added, with no less truth—the less mind the greater need of external incitement. This moral necessity is amply provided for in the circumstances of the Liberian colonists, and this fact presents no inconsiderable argument in the view of one who has faithfully studied the nature of man with reference to his outward relations.

To a mind, in which lurks one spark of native sentiment, there is something inspiring in the very idea of going forth to make one of a free and happy Colony; to take part in founding on the ruins of persecution and barbarism, a commercial and religious community; to render those breezes, which bore the cries of the captured, melodious with the songs of grateful worshippers; to cause that watery expanse, across which the slave-boats darkly hurried, to bear proudly on its bosom the ships of the enterprising natives; and to rear, amid the palms, a glorious city—the asylum of the oppressed, sacred to liberty, humanity and the truths of religion:—in a word, to aid in carrying on a grand MORAL EXPERIMENT, the meliorating effects of which, upon the slave system, the slave trade and the African race, may, with truth, be deemed incalculable.

H. T. 'T'.

[Colonizationist.]

*From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.***COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.***Examination of the Objection of the Abolitionists, continued.*

NO. VII.

I know it may be said, as well by the considerate friend of human liberty and happiness, as by the most reckless abolitionist, that no comparison can justly be instituted between evils, where one is transient—the other ever-during; and that the evil of a settled, perpetuating system, by which a large and increasing number of our race are, through all ages, to be debared of rights declared to be indestructible, is greater than any evil affecting the general welfare, to be produced by their liberation among us—because, how long soever it may be in its duration, it is still continually tending to its termination. We think it by no means improbable that, in this opinion, the calm and dispassionate in the South would concur with the proposer. “But,” says the impatient abolitionist, “how is this? Of what value is a concurrence like this, when you are making no effort for the removal of the evil? Of what use is it to admit, that the evil of a settled system by which slavery is to be perpetuated, is the greatest that can affect the general welfare, whilst you reject abolition, the only plan by which the evil can be removed, and are yet doing nothing in this matter?” But stop, sir; we will answer you by saying—and we do it without intending offence, but rather in charitableness of judgment—that your lack of knowledge on this part of the subject is the salient point of nearly all the errors into which you have been precipitated. For your correction, visit the South; inquire of the candid and intelligent—we have many such—what was the condition of slaves 30, 20, 10 years ago? what of public sentiment upon slavery in the abstract? and see, for yourself, the care and kindness with which our menial servants are treated—the regular and abundant provision made for their wants and comfort—the meliorated condition of the field hands—the superiority of their present comforts to the much lower state of them a few years since—hear the reproach and the expression of indignant feeling with which a stint of food, insufficient clothing, or any species of divulged inhumanity, on the part of a master to his slave, is visited—witness the freedom with which the subject of slavery is discussed in ordinary conversation—the acknowledgment of the evil—the desire, every where expressed; to get rid of it, as soon as it can be done without the introduction of a greater evil—see those laws, deemed by dispassionate legislative judgment, necessary for the general good, wherever they bear with severity upon the black, neglected or set aside by the predominant power of public humanity—know these things—see in them the rapid march of that benevolence whose end is the concession of all right—be ashamed, and repent of the atrocious charges which you have trumpeted against us to the world for our moral condemnation.

Let us, for a moment, examine the real condition of the slave-holders of the South to see if we cannot find, in the difficulties by which they are surrounded, some relief against the accusation of abolitionists, that they are the wanton despisers of the rights of their fellow men.—In doing this, we deem it unnecessary to revert to the introduction of slavery into our country. It aids us nothing, nor the cause of humanity, to throw the blame upon the mother country, which, in opposition to the numerous remonstrances of the colonies, kept open the African slave trade—or upon our forefathers, who yielded to the temptation thus held out to them—or upon our northern brethren, “whose hard soil could be cultivated only by the hands of freemen; and whose climate forbidding the introduction of slaves,” sought their portion of the thrift, in wafting them for sale, to our more genial climes; all this will be of but little use, save it be the mischievous one to which it is too often employed, of keeping alive the spirit of crimination and injurious retort. This consideration is enough for us—we find ourselves, *without being altogether accountable for it, in a state or condition, which it is desirable to change—* surrounded by circumstances of a disagreeable nature, from which it is desirable to extricate ourselves, if in doing so, we be not brought into others that are still more disagreeable. How then, shall individual slaveholders—for it is individual example that must lead the way, that must agitate the mass—how shall they act, so as to bring about, most safely, this wished for consummation?

We will suppose one born in the south, to an inheritance of a plantation, and the number of slaves required for its cultivation: he comes into the world with these recognised and secured to him, by the laws of the country, as property. The same laws impose upon him duties necessary to the possession. Thus situated, he becomes uneasy under the operation of conscientious scruples, and is desirous of releasing himself from the relation of master, in which he stands to the slaves. If he act in obedience to moral or religious obligation, he should remember, that the happiness of the slaves, whose lot Providence seems to have connected, in some measure with his own, as well as justice to the community among whom he has been brought into being and educated, must enter into the account; and that, whilst he is seeking his own accommodation, he must answer all the claims which, with a good conscience, he is bound to respect.

The first suggestion that offers itself is, to sell his property, and remove to a country where the evil of slavery does not exist. But would not this be an abandonment of principle? Would he not, whilst carefully providing for his own repose, in all probability, be committing the happiness of his slaves to others, who would entertain no conscientious scruples in their treatment of them? And would he not—admitting slavery to be a vice in the social organization—

be doing something bordering upon injustice to the community he has left? For the quantum of evil which he found, remains undiminished by this procedure, whilst the amount of good feeling to mitigate it, and of ability to aid in its final removal, is lessened by the abstraction of himself from the country.

There is, however, another expedient, he will abandon the country where slavery is tolerated, leaving his slaves behind him to shift for themselves. Here he is met by many difficulties. 1st. In some of the slaveholding States, emancipation cannot be effected without special legislative permission. Although his slaves might be thus left, they would not be free. They would be liable to be taken up, imprisoned as vagrants or runaways, sold for the prison fees, and again consigned to full and complete slavery. 2dly. Even if they should be nominally free, they would not be free in fact. They would be exposed to every imposition and abuse from unfeeling whites, without any person to protect them. 3d. He is imposing upon society an evil, in the tolerance of which he himself is unwilling to participate. It is evident, by this course of conduct, that he is acting with a sole view to his own ease and convenience, whilst he is effecting nothing substantial for the removal or mitigation of slavery.

But it may be said, why not take his slaves with him to a free state? To this it may be replied, they are now, generally, excluded from the free states—especially those of the north-west—by laws enacted to prevent their introduction—or their settlement and residence in them are clogged with conditions and liabilities, to which but few, even the most charitable owners, would be willing to subject themselves.

What then is to be done for one thus situated? Formerly, before the opening of the outlet to Liberia, nothing could well be done, but to treat them with kindness, as fellow creatures, upon the principles of the gospel, and make them as happy as a servile condition would warrant. Many, before this, were sent to the free states, to be tantalized with a nominal freedom—to undergo the contumely of a degraded caste, and the pinching severities of a northern climate. That this is the condition of slaves who have been manumitted, upon being transferred to the free States, is sufficiently well attested by that class in Ohio, and their colony in Canada.

But now, since the settlement of Liberia, the situation of him whose lot is cast as a slaveholder in the South, is greatly altered. If he desire to release himself from a relation which is continually arousing conscientious scruples; to silence that monitor whose searching and ceaseless whisper is “of one blood are all nations of men”—“whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them”—he may do so, without having to encounter any of the difficulties which heretofore lay in his way. In sending his slaves to Liberia, the laws of his own country are not weakened by evasion; there is, instead of injury done to the slaveholding community, by adding to the evil of a free black population, already great amongst them, a benefit conferred in the diminution of the number of slaves amongst us; and the subjects of his benevolence are placed in circumstances where there is no obstacle to the enjoyment by themselves and their descendants, of all that happiness which springs from industry, intelligence and virtue.

We have thus endeavoured, in our last four numbers, fairly to meet the objection made by many of our fellow-citizens of the South, who have not taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the origin and progress of the colonization cause, as well as that urged by the abolitionist of the North. We feel,—however unsuccessful may have been the attempt—that it has been made candidly and impartially; with an honest desire to do justice to both; to place the truth before this community; and thus to bring together the virtuous, the dispassionate, the intelligent, wherever they may be found, in aid of the cause of colonization, as one in which mind and heart, patriotism, philanthropy and religion may unite in magnificent and noble harmony; thus contributing some effort, humble though it be, in destroying the central head of that Hydra, which, with bloody crest, has been well nigh crushing to death, in its horrid folds, the ripening manhood of our country.

In the conclusion of this part of our subject, permit us to assure the abolitionist—and we do it in the spirit of friendship for him, and with a desire for the happiness of man, as zealous it may be, though not so furious as his; that here, on the theatre of that action which he would excite, he is doing his cause an injury whose extent he cannot measure. If he were here amongst us—possessing an identity of interest with those whom he addresses—whilst his intemperance might bring him into personal embarrassments, yet his arguments would be listened to with a more friendly feeling. But, as he is—in a distant part of our country—necessarily ignorant, in a great measure, of our condition—striving, not so much to convince the master of his duty, as stirring up the slave to discontent, and exciting him to a breach of that command which says “be obedient to him who is your master”—an awful responsibility to assume; whilst he is acting thus, he may rest assured that he is fastening upon himself, the accusation upon which he has so confidently arraigned the Society, “of rivetting the chains of slavery more firmly”—that he is widening the distance between the master and the slave, and creating a mutual distrust, the natural consequence of which must be, the greater oppression of the feeble.

I know there are among us a large number of high-minded men, who can be nothing moved by what the most intemperate abolitionist may say—who mind it no more than the cracking of the chesnut in the farmer's fire—whose kind treatment of their slaves cannot be affected by another's indiscretion, and whose patriotic regard for any part of the country cannot be lessened, because it is *there* he has chosen his position, from whence to discharge his impotent thunders; yet, may he be certain, that his influence as far as it is felt at all in the South, is adverse to the humane treatment of the slave, and to the progress of that benevolence and wisdom, which, if properly led on, will, at length, enable every part of this enlightened land, to see, that, to

her greatest strength and highest happiness, slavery must, in the nature of things, be ever opposed—and to throw off the foul clog by which she has been encumbered, as the leader of the nations in their march to freedom.

J. G. BIRNEY,

Agent of the American Colonization Society.

MISSIONS.

From the American Quarterly Register.

WESTERN AFRICA.

The principal missionary establishments on the western coast are within the territory of the British colony of Sierra Leone, and under the charge of the Church Missionary Society. They were commenced about sixteen years since. Freetown, the capital of the colony, on the south side of the river Sierra Leone, seven miles above its entrance into the Atlantic ocean, is the seat of the mission. Branches are established at Fourah bay, Kiskey, four miles from Freetown, Wellington seven miles, Hastings thirteen, Gloucester four, Regent six, and Bathurst seven. The last three are in the mountain district, lying south and southeast of Freetown; the three preceding are in the river district, east of Freetown. On the first of January, 1833, the average attendance on public worship at all the stations was about 2,700 in the morning, and 1,500 in the evening, communicants 690, candidates for communion 332, day scholars 1,637, evening 232, Sabbath 1,080, total scholars 2,999. At Fourah bay is a seminary, called the Christian Institution, containing 14 scholars. Its design is to prepare native teachers and assistants. The conduct of most of the communicants is reported to be consistent with their profession. Some have been excluded for Sabbath breaking, adultery, and other sins. One of the missionaries has been separated from the society, in consequence of his openly falling into sin. It appears that the worship of idols is not yet entirely eradicated from among the liberated Africans. The want of laborers is a painful obstacle. The climate is such as frequently to prove fatal to a European constitution.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society established a mission at Freetown in 1816. There are now five outstations. The meetings at the chapels are generally well attended. The same society have missions at Bathurst, a town on St. Mary's island, at the mouth of the Gambia, and at M'Carthy island, about 300 miles up the Gambia. The first was established in 1821, the last in 1832. M'Carthy island is considered as very well adapted for a missionary settlement. The Gambia is navigable about 400 miles, and enters the ocean in north latitude 14 deg. 23 min., about 6 deg. north of Sierra Leone.

Going down the coast about two degrees from Sierra Leone, we come to the American colony of Liberia. The Baptist mission at the colony has been relinquished. A free school for the benefit of recaptured Africans has been for several weeks in successful operation under the care of the Rev. James Eden. Mr. Savage is making arrangements to establish a manual labor school at Millsburg. There were previously five schools in operation. Sufficient attention has not, in our opinion, been paid to this point, by the managers of the Colonization Society. It is of fundamental importance. We are sorry to say, also, that a portion of the colonists, including some of the most respectable persons, are engaged in the traffic in ardent spirits. We are aware that it is said that no treaties could be made with the natives, and scarcely any intercourse carried on, without the assistance of ardent spirits. But has a full experiment been made? Is it perfectly clear, that it is *morally right* to make use of ardent spirits in any such way? Can the natives be induced to give up the expectation of receiving ardent spirits in barter, *gradually*? Ought not decisive and uncompromising ground to be taken at once? Would not really useful articles, if double or treble in value, be received in lieu of spirits?

Three American Missionary Societies, the Western Foreign Missionary, the Methodist Missionary, and the American Board, will establish missions on the western coast, probably in the vicinity of cape Montserado, or cape Palmas, in the course of two or three months.

The German Missionary Society established at Basle, in Switzerland, have an establishment at *Ussa*, a negro village, near the Danish fort Christianburg, on the Gold coast. This mission commenced in 1828, is about one degree south of Liberia. The Gold coast has long been visited for the gold dust and slaves, which it furnishes. The forts and counting houses belonging to Europeans in this quarter are about 40 in number.

The following are the names, stations, &c. of the different missionaries on the western coast. We do not give the assistants:—

John G. Wilhelm,	Freetown,	Ch. Miss.	— Moister,	St. Mary's Isl.	Wes. Miss.
John Raban,	do.	do.	John B. Pinney,	Not stationed,	West F. M.
G. W. E. Metzger,	River Dist.	do.	John Cloud,	do.	do.
John Gerber,	do.	do.	— Laird,	do.	do.
W. K. Betts,	Mountain Dist.	do.	John L. Wilson,	do.	A. B. C. F. M.
G. A. Kissling,	Not stationed,	do.	S. O. Wright,	do.	Meth. Miss.
J. F. Schon,	do.	do.	— Spaulding,	do.	do.

Considerable interest is now felt in the project in which the Landers are engaged, of establishing settlements, and promoting commercial intercourse in the interior of western Af-

rica. Mr. Lander left the steam-boats on the 14th of April last, about 400 miles up the Niger, opposite the lake Tschad, and proceeded to Fernando Po on the coast, to procure necessaries, &c. During the first month after the expedition left the coast, not less than 20 deaths occurred, in consequence of the fever which was caught on the coast. In every other respect the expedition has been successful. Great confidence is expressed of the final accomplishment of the commercial objects of the expedition. The natives had received it in the most friendly manner. It is intended to form a settlement at Patashie, a large island in the Niger, one day's journey below Boosa.

"Africa," remarks Mr. Douglas of Cavers, "is still more helpless than Asia, and farther removed from all influences of good. Preparations, however, are already begun for a renovating change of that unhappy continent. The liberated blacks are beginning to return, with the seeds of knowledge, and the rudiments of the true religion; and America will soon send them forth in great numbers, and spread them over those shores which are opposite to the new world."

SOUTH AFRICA.

"If the sight of the wild boy in the wood learning his letters be, according to Dr. Chalmers, the most sublime spectacle on earth, what heart can be insensible to the grandeur of those effects, which are likely to arise from the introduction of a printing press, schools, the circulation of the Scriptures, literature, and science, among the hitherto barbarous tribes in the interior of South Africa?" The efforts for the benefit of South Africa may be considered under four divisions—Cape Town, the Hottentots, Caffres, and the more distant tribes.

Cape Town is a well built place; and is said to contain 22,000 white and colored inhabitants. The places of worship belong to the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics. A chapel is connected with the London Missionary Society. An English Episcopal church is building. The Mohammedan priests are said to be very zealous in making proselytes.—The inhabitants prefer servants of this religion on account of their sober habits, drunkenness being said to prevail greatly among other sects. A philanthropic society is established for the emancipation of deserving slaves. They have already emancipated 100 slave girls, and given them a good education. A Temperance Society has numerous members. New lending-libraries are forming, and others are enlarging. In two schools in Cape Town, and 24 elsewhere, belonging to the 'Bible and School Commission,' there are 1,267 scholars. In Cape Town, there are 12 private schools for boys and 10 for girls. Two schools of industry have 140 scholars, an infant school 60; a grammar school, begun in 1824, is supported by government. A college, commenced in 1829, supports itself, and is the first institution in the colony, which has rendered it unnecessary to send children to Europe for education, and will be the means of raising many competent teachers for the district schools. The Dutch inhabitants have a school preparatory for the college, with 180 scholars. Rev. John Philip, D. D. superintendent of the missions of the London society, has morning and evening service on the Sabbath, a Bible class, Sunday school, &c. The Wesleyans employ at the cape, and the surrounding districts, Messrs. Barnabas Shaw, James Cameron, and E. Cook. In Cape Town and the adjoining country, there are 50,000 Mohammedans and Pagans,

Hottentots. Among this people, the Brethren have five stations, Groenekloof, Gnadenthal, Hemel-en Aarde, Elim, and Enon. Groenekloof is 40 miles north of Cape Town, and has 563 inhabitants. The mission premises are surrounded by a wall, and the church and other buildings are stuccoed. Gnadenthal is 130 miles north-east of Cape Town. So abundant are the vegetable productions, that it is called 'a place of fruits.' The settlement contains 1,319 persons. The communicants are 605, baptized children 391. The day scholars are 300, and the infant school 120. "Nothing can exceed the delight of the Hottentots at the unexpected present of an organ for the church. Many of them melt into tears when it is played." Hemel-en Aarde is a hospital for the relief of lepers. The communicants are 38. As the malady is not contagious, the institution will probably be given up. Elim is 180 miles from the cape—it has 200 inhabitants. Enon is on the White river, near Algoa bay, about nine days' journey from Gnadenthal. The White river flows close to the settlement. Communicants 123, scholars 125.

The London Society has missions at Bosjesveld, 40 miles north of the cape, at Paarl, 35 miles north-east, at Tulbagh, 75 miles north-east, at Caledon, 120 miles east, at Pacaltsdorp, 145 miles east, at Hankey, not far distant from the last named town, at Bethelsdorp, 450 miles east of the cape, and Uitenhage an outstation, at Theopolis, 550 miles east, at Grahamstown, Graaf Reinet, and Cat river. The number of communicants at all these stations is about 500. Temperance societies are formed at most of them. "Intemperance has hitherto been one of the chief means, by which Satan has maintained his sway. No one can reflect on the almost universal custom in our villages, of paying for occasional services with nothing but brandy, without horror." The Wesleyans have stations in the Albany district, in the eastern part of the colony, comprehending Grahamstown, Salem, Somerset, and other stations. The congregations on the Sabbath are large and attentive. The French protestants have a mission at Wagenmaker valley, the resort of 600 or 700 slaves, 10 of whom have been baptized; and the Rhenish Society another station at New Wupperthal, near the Cedar mountains, five days' journey north of Cape Town. "In a little valley surrounded by huge rocks, which seem to shut it out from the whole world, the missionary Von Wurmb, and his wife, with his associate Leipoldt, fixed themselves at the beginning of 1830, having purchased the land for about 11,000 francs. The Rhenish Society have also a mission at Stellenbosch."

Caffres. Caffreland is a large tract of country, bounded on the south by the great Fish river, on the east by the ocean, on the north by the tribes called Tambookies and Mamboos.

kies, while its interior boundaries are less accurately known. It is about 250 miles in length, and perhaps nearly 200 in breadth. It is a land of hills and vallies much better watered than most countries of Southern Africa, and might be rendered very productive by agriculture. It is almost entirely pasturage, and cattle are the riches of the natives. The chief support of the people is milk. The mode of living and government are patriarchal. They are divided into tribes, and every tribe is divided into families, much after the manner of the Jews in the times of Joshua. They may be said to be without any religion, true or false. There is no idol, nor any worshipper of idols or of demons, throughout the whole country; no sacred rivers, nor venerated groves, nor consecrated stones. "The chiefs and influential men are foremost in every species of wickedness; they do not appear to possess any thing like a moral sense. Wholly unrestrained by the influence of the Holy Spirit, they are left to the corruptions of their own hearts, unchecked by the thoughts of judgment to come, or even by the lowest standard of conventional morality. The land is literally held in bondage by a set of men and women, who are called *doctors*; but who may, with the greatest propriety, be called the children of the devil, and enemies of all righteousness. They live in the daily practice of the greatest sins. Lying and adultery fill the land. Murder is very common." Notwithstanding, the prospect of ultimate success in missionary labors among the Caffre nation generally, becomes every year more encouraging.

The London Society have one station at Buffalo river. The congregations are 200 in number. The Wesleyans have a number of stations, Wesleyville, in Pato's tribe, containing 7,000 or 8,000 population; Mount Coke, in Islambie's tribe; Morley on the Umtata river, in Dapa's tribe; Butterworth in Hintza's tribe; a station in Vossanie's tribe, and another in Faku's tribe. The number of members in society, probably amounts to about 150 or 200, at all these stations. "The advance in civilization and the comforts of life, as well as in spiritual knowledge and happiness, which has been effected in the course of a few years among a previously neglected people, cannot be contemplated without delight by any Christian mind." The Glasgow missionaries, whose stations are at Chumie, Lovedale, and Balfour, are diligently employed in the translation of the Scriptures. There are British missionaries laboring among the Caffre tribes at eleven stations. At all these stations, schools have been established, and a number of adults and children are able to read. A considerable part of the Bible has been translated into the Caffre language.

Missions in other tribes.—These are the Bosjesmans, or Bushmen, Bechuanas, Griquas, Corannas, Namaquas, Baharootzees, Tambookies, Mambookies, &c. The station among the Bosjesmans, is east of Phillippolis, three miles from the Orange river and five from the Caledon river. The Bushmen are the descendants of the Hottentots, who escaped from British and Dutch tyranny. Lattakoo, the principal town of the Bechuanas, is 630 miles north-east of Cape Town. The London Society and the French protestants have ten or eleven missionaries in this quarter. A part of the French missionaries are about to commence a station among the Baharootzees, a tribe of Bechuanas, 200 miles north-east of Lattakoo. The London Society have missions at Griquatown, Campbell, and Phillippolis, among the Griquas, Corannas, &c. The communicants are 60 or 70. In Little Namaqualand, about 22 days' journey from the cape, near the Khamiesberg river, the London Society have missions at Komaggas, and the Wesleyans at Lily Fountain. The Brethren are evangelizing the Tambookies and Mambookies, tribes which reside on the Klipplaat river. The following is the general summary:—

<i>Missionaries.</i>	<i>Station.</i>	<i>Dist. from C. Town.</i>	<i>Society.</i>
John Philip, D. D.	Cape Town,		London.
B. Shaw,	do.		Wesleyan.
J. Cameron,	do.		do.
E. Cook,	do.		do.
— Clemens,	Groenekloof,	40	Brethren.
— Lehman,	do.		do.
— Meyer,	do.		do.
— Hallbeck,	do.		do.
— Luttring,	Groenekloof,		Brethren.
— Schopman,	do.		do.
— Stein,	do.		do.
— Sonderman,	do.		do.
C. Kramer,	Bosjesveld,	40	London.
W. Elliott,	Pearl,	35	do.
Arie Vos,	Talbagh,	75	do.
G. A. Zahn,	do.		Rhenish.
Henry Helm,	Caledon,	111	London.
J. Tietze,	Hemel-en Aarde,		Brethren.
W. Anderson,	Pacaltsdorp,	245	London.
J. Kitchingman,	Hankey,		do.
Adam Robson,	Bethelsdorp,	450	do.
J. G. Messer,	Uitenhage,	450	do.
G. Barker,	Theopolis,	550	do.
C. Sass,	do.		do.
John Monro,	Grahamstown,		do.
W. Shaw,	Albany District,		Wesleyan.
S. Palmer,	do.		do.

<i>Missionaries.</i>	<i>Station.</i>	<i>Dist. from C. Town.</i>	<i>Society.</i>
Samuel Young,	Wesleyville,		Wesleyan.
— Teutsch,	Elim,		Brethren.
— Nauhass,	do.		do.
— Lemertz,	Enon,		do.
— Hornig,	do.		do.
— Genth,	do.		do.
— Halter,	Shiloh,		do.
— Hoffman,	do.		do.
— Fritsch,	do.		do.
A. Van der Linge,	Graaf Reiniet,		London.
John Read,	Cat River,		do.
John Brownlee,	Buffalo River,		do.
G. F. Kayser,	do.		do.
Peter Wright,	Griquatown,	530	do.
G. A. Kolbe,	Phillippolis,		do.
James Clark,	Bosjesmans,	125	do.
Robert Moffat,	Lattakoo,	630	do.
John Baillie,	do.		do.
Prosper Lemue,	do.		French Prot.
J. Rolland,	do.		do.
G. P. Pellissier,	do.		do.
Eugene Casalis,	Bechuanas,		do.
Theobald Von Wurmb,	New Wupperthal,	100	Rhenish.
John Leipoldt,	do.		do.
J. G. Knab,	do.		do.
Edward Edwards,	Lily Fountain,		Wesleyan.
W. Shepstone,	Morley,		do.
W. J. Shrewsbury,	Mount Coke,		do.
— Luckoff,	Stellenbosch,		Rhenish.
Gerard Terlinden,	do.		do.
John H. Schmelen,	Komaggas,		London.
— Thomson,	Chumie,		Glasgow.
— Weir,	do.		do.
— Ross,	Lovedale,		do.
— Bennie,	do.		do.

EASTERN AFRICA.

The American Board of Missions propose to establish a mission among the Zoolahs,—a populous tribe of Africans, on the eastern coast between Port Natal and De la Goa Bay.—This bay is in 25 deg. 58 min. south lat., about 4 deg. north of Port Natal, and 9 deg. north of the cape of Good Hope. The bay is large and beautiful, and its borders fertile. An establishment on this bay, might export great quantities of ivory. The rivers Mafumo and Maquinis, or St. Esprit, which there empty themselves, have not been explored by any modern traveller. The country immediately north of the bay is called Inhambane, which extends as far as cape Corrientes, where a fort, built by the Portuguese, points out the southern limits of the territories claimed by this nation. Dr. Philip represents the field as one of great promise, and states that the societies now in operation in South Africa cannot occupy it efficiently. American ships sometimes touch at Port Natal, and any ships passing to the eastward of Good Hope, might easily land missionaries.

AFRICAN ISLANDS.

Mauritius has 80,000 inhabitants, chiefly blacks. A mission was commenced in 1814, by the London Society. John Le Brun is the missionary. Considerable improvement has taken place in the mission. The Sunday school for slaves at Port Louis, has 70 children.

The inhabitants of Madagascar amount to 4,000,000. The principal station is Tananarivo. The London Society commenced a mission in 1818, and renewed it in 1820. The laborers are David Griffiths, David Johns, T. Atkinson, John Canham, and J. J. Freeman. Schools about 60, scholars 6,000. The queen, by an order of May 22, 1831, gave the missionaries liberty to preach, and her subjects permission to act according to their convictions. Two native churches have been formed, containing together 100 communicants. The press has issued in Mallagasse, 3,000 copies of the New Testament, 800 copies of the Old, as far as to the first book of Samuel, and about 9,000 copies of particular books. The demand for the Scriptures has been so great, that not more than one in twenty, who petitioned for a copy, has been supplied. The Testament has been read in nearly 100 schools. When the natives went to the wars, in 1830, 400 or 500 miles distant, not less than 50 *believers*, as they were scornfully termed, carried their Testaments, and by means of them were enabled to keep up prayer and other meetings, by which many were brought to the knowledge of the truth, and hundreds to a general knowledge of Christianity. All the scholars, who have been in the schools previous to August, 1832, have been dismissed, on proof being given of their knowledge of reading and writing. They, with others previously dismissed, amount to 10,000 or 15,000, and all are anxious to possess themselves of any thing printed. About 6,000 new scholars have been put into the schools. Many voluntary inquirers learn to read in their own houses. The mission on the whole appears to be in a prosperous state. It is not so warmly patronized by the queen as it was by the late king, Radama.

INTELLIGENCE.

LIBERIA.

By the return of Dr. Mechlin, whose health has suffered severely in consequence of his exertion and exposure in the discharge of his duties, but who, we are glad to learn, is better, the Managers have been put in possession of valuable facts in relation to Liberia.

We regret to say, that the health of the settlers, particularly those who have recently arrived there, has suffered much during the year, and that many deaths have occurred. The season has been peculiarly unhealthy; and it will be recollected that both Dr. Todsén and Dr. Hall were absent when their services were greatly needed.—All the medical duties were thus thrown upon Dr. Mechlin, whose health was feeble, and who, in consequence of the scattered condition of the settlers, would have found it impossible to discharge them, even had all his other arduous concerns been neglected. It seems desirable that the Society should endeavour to send future emigrants to some distance in the interior; and we learn that a road might be opened, for 50 or 100 miles, at a small expense. It is thought also that Bassa is more favorable to health than Monrovia; and it is the opinion of Dr. Mechlin, that emigrants should, in future, be sent to the flourishing settlement commenced there, called Edina, in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh.

The approaching Anniversary of the Society is looked to with much interest, and we are happy to know that many friends of the cause from a distance are expected to be present. Many great and important questions will doubtless be considered.

The following is an extract from a letter just received from one of the most influential and liberal friends of the Society in the State of New York.

"It has within a day or two occurred to me how we can make our next meeting worth more to us than all our previous anniversaries. We must pass a resolution at our next meeting, to subscribe \$50,000 to the funds of the Society, payable in five equal annual payments, and we must subscribe the sum *on the spot*. I will subscribe my share of it, or, if need be, double my share of it."

SOUTHERN LIBERALITY.

A gentleman of New Orleans has enclosed to us the following memorial, addressed to the Legislature of Louisiana, by one of the most wealthy and influential citizens of that State. The individual to whom we are indebted for this memorial, observes, "The slaves which he intends sending to Liberia, and of which the fifty children spoken of in the memorial are the offspring, are I am told, the most valuable, for their number, in the State, being all mechanics and Creoles of the country; and would bring here, if sold, \$150,000."

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened:

The memorial of John McDonough, a citizen of the State, respectfully represents—That being the owner of some forty to fifty black children, male and female, of various ages, (the offspring of old and faithful servants) the greater part of whom have been born under his roof, and whom he intends sending with their parents in the course of a few years to Liberia, on the coast of Africa, as a reward for the meritorious conduct and faithful services of their fathers and mothers. But whereas, said children are now uneducated, and in a state of ignorance, (the laws of the State prohibiting owners of slaves from educating of them) your memorialist is therefore desirous, previous to his sending them to Africa, to have them instructed in the rudiments of an English education, that when, in the land of their fathers, they may be enabled to instruct their posterity in the knowledge of civilization and the arts of life, to make known to the heathen the gospel of Christ, and to say, for these, the greatest of earthly blessings, "we are indebted to the white man." He therefore prays, that an act may be passed by your honorable body, permitting him to educate such of his slaves as he may think proper, on his giving bond and security to the satisfaction of the Governor of the State, to send all such as he may so educate out of the State, within the period of three years from this date. Your memorialist trusts that your honorable body will see nothing objectionable in the passage of this law, but on the contrary, a strong and powerful inducement thereto, as it would no doubt be the means of showing to the slaves of the State in general, wherever it would become known to them, what they may expect from true and faithful services to their masters, and the reward that meritorious conduct always ensures. A law, therefore, in his favor, as above prayed for, could not, in the opinion of your memorialist, fail to produce a most excellent and salutary effect. And your memorialist will ever pray.

New Orleans, Dec. 9th, 1833.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

A very respectable meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg, (Penn.) was held on the 29th of December; at which Benjamin Bakewell presided, and Matthew B. Lowrie was Secretary. The Auxiliary Colonization Society, which had previously existed, but in a feeble state, was re-organized, and the following gentlemen chosen officers for the ensuing year:

President—Walter Forward, Esq.

Vice Presidents—Rev. Dr. Herron, Hon. Charles Shaler, Rev. Charles Avery, Hon. Judge Greer, Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.

Managers—William Graham, jr., R. Burke, Esq., John M'Kee, Stephen Colwell, Esq., M. Allen, Rev. J. W. Blythe, Samuel P. Darlington.

Treasurer—James Wilson.

Secretary—Matthew B. Lowrie.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

B. BAKEWELL, *President*.

M. B. LOWRIE, *Secretary*.

An able and interesting discussion took place on this occasion, in which Walter Forward, Esq., Hon. Judge Shaler, Hon. Judge Wilkeson, of Buffalo, N. Y. took a distinguished part.

The Rev. Isaac S. House, Agent of the St. Louis Colonization Society, Missouri, writes that he has been engaged since August last in promoting the interests of colonization in the State of Missouri. He says the good cause is gaining ground in the far west; and information is only needed to rouse into action the liberality of the whole valley. From his letter, we extract the following notice of Societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution:

Washington County Colonization Society.

James M. White, Esq., *President*; Rev. C. W. Allen, and Rev. P. Snedeker, *Vice Presidents*; Mason Frizelle, *Secretary*; John S. Brick, *Treasurer*; Henry Pease, John Brick, Israel McGrady, George Edgar, and James Glenn, *Managers*.

The New Madrid Colonization Society.

John Dunklin, *President*; Robert G. Watson, George G. Alford, *Vice Presidents*; Al'd. Detarodein, *Secretary*; Robert D. Dawson, *Treasurer*; Thos. Mosely, jr., Asahel Smith, H. P. Maulsby, Richard J. Waters, Richard Philips, *Managers*.

Amount received, \$50.

Benton, (Scott co.) Colonization Society.

Christopher G. Houts, *President*; Washington Orr, John Hall, *Vice Presidents*; Joseph Hunter, *Treasurer*; George C. Harbisan, *Secretary*; L. B. Lavalle, Thomas Houts, William Howell, R. J. Glascock, William Myers, *Managers*.

Caledonia Colonization Society, Washington co.

Rev. Thomas Donnell, *President*; Dr. Jas.

H. Relfe, Alexander S. Alexander, *Vice Presidents*; Thomas Bird, *Secretary*; T. R. Harris, *Treasurer*; Joseph McCormack, J. P. Alexander, George Masters, Alonzo P. Smith, J. C. Johnson, *Managers*.

Forty-eight members. Collected, \$31 93.

Cape Girardeau Colonization Society.

Hon. John D. Cooke, *President*; Rev. T. P. Green, Rev. Uriel Howe, Rev. John S. Cowan, Rev. James Hendricks, Benjamin Howell, Esq., *Vice Presidents*; G. W. Davis, *Secretary*; Gen. N. W. Watkins, *Treasurer*; Andrew Martin, Moses Block, Samuel B. M. Knight, Benjamin Baron, Ebenezer Sleun, Joseph R. McClain, Thomas Neale, George H. Scripps, John Judrun, Esq., Frank J. Allen, jr., Nathan Van Horn, *Managers*.

Amount subscribed, \$126 62. Collected, \$105 75.

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Extract from a letter from a distinguished Baptist clergyman in Illinois.

It is much to be regretted that our northern and eastern folks (in a few instances only, I hope) are getting so wild and crazy. They certainly know not what they are about. One thing is certain: whether the colonization scheme ever results in the removal of the blacks or not, it will effect an entire revolution in Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri.—An acquaintance, pretty extensive, in these western regions for sixteen years, and of the movements and changes in the views and feelings of slave-holders, are more substantial arguments to me than all the declamation of a million of Garrisons and Denisons. Should I ever get a little "breathing place" from the pressure of various and onerous duties, I may give some sketches of the progress of correct and liberal views amongst the slave-holders within my observation; and to my certain knowledge, these changes have been produced by taking the colonization ground. The ultras of the South are right when they deprecate the Colonization project as far more mischievous to the perpetuation of slavery in the South, than that of the fiery abolitionists.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

For what we said on this subject in our October number, we had the best authority. We are willing, however, to allow Mr. Green to give his own opinion in the case.

REV. MR. GURLEY—I wish to say, that the statements in the African Repository for Oct. 1833, with regard to the course pursued by the Faculty of the W. R. College, are adapted *generally* to make a wrong impression, and that the assertion, that a part of the Faculty were induced to ask for a dismissal from their place at the suggestion of the Trustees, that if they did not return to their appropriate duties, the Trustees must employ for their reformation or removal harsher measures, than they had already taken, is so far as I am concerned, utterly false.

BERIAH GREEN,

Pres. of the On. Ins.

Philadelphia, Dec. 6, 1833.

[illegible]

Amount forwarded by R. Voorhes, Esq. viz:—

Coll. by Rev. Geo. S. Woodhull, Middletown Point,	-	-	3	
"A friend," through J. C. Thompson,	-	-	3	
Inhabitants of Princeton, viz:—				
Capt. R. H. Stockton, \$50—J. Potter \$10,				
Dr. Miller \$10—J. VanDorin \$10—R. Voorhes \$10,				
Samuel Bazard \$10,			100	
Sundry others, \$5 each,			50	
Other sums,			27 75	
Fourth of July collection Princeton, N. J.			22 34	206 09
Fourth of July collection at White House, N. J. Rev. Jacob J. Schultz,				4 00
Donations through Mrs. Page, viz:—				
Mrs. Page's deceased child,			81	
Miss Mary Marshall, Haphey Creek,			5	
Miss Susan do do			5	
Sunday school, Middletown,			7 25	18 06
Collection in Wickliffe ch. \$13 78—Berryville \$30—Other subscriptions \$8 82				52 60
Gerrit Smith, Esq. to defray expenses of Ephraim Tiller and wife, in settling in Liberia,				50 00
Donation from a lady in the District of Columbia,				10 00
Collections by Rev. Cyril Pearl, Agent, as follows, viz:				
A few individuals in Exeter, Maine,				5 38
Individuals in Frankfort, Maine,				4 95
A few individuals in Camden, Maine,				3 24
" " in East Thomaston, Maine,				3 77
Contribution at an evening lecture, Warren, Maine,				5 12
Contribution at a lecture in Union,				3 05
Contribution in Unitarian Society, Belfast, Rev. M. Trottingham,				11 34
" in Congregational Society, Belfast,				7 88
" in Methodist Society, do.				2 62
" in Baptist Society, do.				1 55
From David Blood, Jr. in Bucksport, Me.,				1 00
Two men in Thorndike, Me.,				50
Contribution in Dixmont, Me.,				6 45
" in Dixmont Mills, Me.,				2 68
" in China, Me.,				1 54
" in Methodist Society in Winthrop, Me.,				3 84
From three men in Bangor, per hands of Rev. Geo. E. Adams,				6 00
Contribution in Bapt. Society, Pittsfield, Mass., per hands of Rev. Mr. Beach,				10 50
Contribution in Congl. Soc'y, North Newton, Mass., Rev. Mr. Gilbert, Pastor,				20 30
Contribution in Unitarian Meeting-house, Hingham, Mass.,				21 37
Contribution in Bapt. Meeting-house, Hingham, Mass.,				3 82
A few persons in Quincy, Mass.,				2 41
" in Lynn, Mass.,				2 53
Contribution in Congl. Society, Stoneham, Mass., Rev. Mr. Colburn,				4 32
" in Bapt. Meeting-house, South Reading, a union meeting,				8 92
" in Congl. Meeting-house, Woburn, Mass.,				14 00
" at an evening lecture in the Town Hall, Concord, N. H.,				7 93
" in Conl. Soc. Canterbury, N. H. per hands of Rev. Wm. Patrick,				6 70
Rev. Amasa Jones in Shoreham, Vt.—Pay for African Repository,				2 00
Congl. Soc. Benson, Vt. to constitute Rev. Daniel D. Francis a life member,				30 50
From Gen. John Kellogg, Benson, Vt. to constitute himself a life member,				30 00
Dea. Fred'k. Button, Clarendon, Vt. for Repository, per hands of Rev. C. W.				2 00
From Joseph Anthony, Sherburn, Vt.,				50
Contribution in Congl. Soc. Agawam, Conn. Rev. R. Hase,				7 47
Cyril Pearl to constitute himself a life member,				30 00
Contribution in Congl. Soc., Braintree, Mass., Rev. Jonas Perkins, Pastor,				31 41
" at an evening lecture, Quincy, Mass.,				7 44
Supplying desk of Rev. F. S. Barstow, Keene, N. H. half a day,				5 00
Received for pamphlets sold—remarks on Colonization, &c.,				2 39
Contribution in Congl. Soc., Medford, Mass.,				23 78
For supplying the desk of Congl. Soc. in Medford one and a half days,				15 00
Contribution in First ch. Medford, Mass., Rev. M. Harlow, Unitarian,				14 30
Contribution in Conl. Soc. Hampton, N. H. per hands of Rev. Josiah Webster,				7 00
Contribution in Bapt. Meeting-house, Warren, Maine,				5 25
From a friend \$3 50; R. S. Prescott, Exeter, Me., \$1; J. Burke do \$1 50,				6 00
Two females of Exeter, Me. 37 cents—Lewis Everett, No. 4, Me. \$2,				2 37
Rev Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me., third payt. on plan of G. Smith,				100 00
M. Greenwood, Portland, Me. towards life membership Rev. G. C. Beckwith,				5 00
Charles P. Ilsley, do do do				5 00
Eliphalet Greiley, Portland, Me., towards life membership of Rev. B. Tyler,				3 00
Levi Cutter, do do do				3 00
Eben. Steele, Portland, for African Repository, two years,				4 00

Contribution in Congl. Soc. Standish, Me. Rev. Thos. Tenney, Pastor,	5 55
in Congl. Soc. Gorham, Me. to make the Rev. Thad. Pomroy a life member,	30 80
Contribution at an evening lecture in Westbrook, Con. Soc. Rev. Mr. Jewett,	4 65
Contribution in 2d Congl. Soc. in Falmouth, Me.,	5 73
Contribution in Bapt. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. Jno. Butler, Pastor,	13 12
Contribution in 1st Congl. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. David Shepley, Pr.	18 53
Contribution in 2d Congl. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. Caleb Hobart, Pr.	10 71
Phineas Barnes, Portland, Me. for African Repository 3 years,	6 00
Con. in 2d ch. Biddeford, Me.	3 45
Con. in Congl. Soc. Cumberland, Me. Rev. Isaac Weston, Pastor,	9 16
Con. in Congl. Soc. Cape Elizabeth, Me. Rev. J. G. Merrill,	3 33
Third Parish, Portland, Me. towards life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight,	10 00
Third Parish, Portland, contribution—ten dollars of it towards life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight,	12 02
Con. High St. ch. Portland; \$20 of it to complete life membership of Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith,	22 46
Con. 2d Parish, Portland; \$24 of it to complete life membership of Rev. Ben- net Tyler,	37 12
From individuals to complete life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight, per hand of Erastus Hayes,	10 00
Contribution in Congl. Soc. Turner, Me. Rev. Mr. Greeley, Pastor,	2 10
Congl. Soc. in New Gloucester, Rev. Benjamin Rice, Pastor,	5 85
Con. in Congl. Soc. North Edgecomb, Rev. D. Kendrick, Pastor,	7 00
Con. in Congl. Soc. Brunswick, Me. Rev. Geo. E. Adams, Pastor,	25 00
Con. in Bapt. Meeting-house, Hallowell, Me. union meeting,	11 18
Con. in Old Court House, Augusta, Me. do	12 10
Con. in Trinitarian Soc. Castine, Me. Rev. Wooster Parke, Pastor,	34 65
Con. in Congl. Soc. Bucksport, Me. Rev. Mighill Blood, Pastor,	15 65
Con. in Congl. Soc. Thomaston, Me. Rev. Richard Woodhull,	4 75
From Congl. Soc. Bangor, Me. Rev. S. L. Pomroy, Pastor, as follows: contrn.	27 00
Dr. Joshua P. Dunkinson \$5; Mrs. Abbey \$1; Geo. A. Thatcher \$5; total	11 00
Rich'd. Thruston \$2; Thos. A. Hill, Esq. \$5; Jas. Crosby \$5; total	12 00
Levi Cram \$3; do for Af. Rep'y. \$2; Dr. Josiah Deane, \$5; total	10 00
P. H. Coombs \$5; Samuel P. Dutton \$5; Samuel Smith \$5; total	15 00
John Pearson \$2; also for Af. Rep'y. \$2; Philip Coombs \$5; total	9 00
Edmund Dole \$3; Geo. W. Pickering in pay for Af. Rep'y. \$5; total	8 00
Asa Davis \$3; a Friend \$5,	8 00
Mrs. Morton, Lubec, Me. avails of gold beads,	2 92
Con. in Congl. Soc. Orono, Me. Rev. Josiah Fisher, Pastor,	5 88
<i>Total of receipts by Rev. Mr. Pearl,</i>	<i>\$945 83</i>
<i>Total amt.</i>	<i>19,439 42</i>

*Contributions for the A. C. S. acknowledged by R. S. Finley, Agent of the
New York City Colonization Society.*

Fourth of July collection by Rev. Jas. Bookstener, Montgomery, Orange co. per V. Van Dewater,	7 00
Received by Messrs. B. Waugh and E. Mason, the sum of \$84 40, from the following sources, viz:—Rev. A. Goff, Ohio,	1 00
Fourth of July collection, Rev. John R. Laurens, Otsego co. N. Y.	12 21
Bridgeport, Conn.	25 00
Thatford, do	8 50
Fourth July coll. Rev. D. Stevens, Swanton, Vt.	4 50
A lady in Bladensburg, Md. by Rev. R. Brown,	2 00
A friend of Amherst co. Va. by Rev. J. Soule,	5 00
Mr. Cross Scouger, by Rev. S. Gilleland,	5 00
A youth in the country,	5 00
A female friend, Amherst Circuit, by Rev. J. Soule,	5 08
Rev. B. J. Mathias, Courtlandt, Conn.	5 02
Rev. H. Hatfield, Bedford, Connecticut,	3 18
Rev. H. O. Sheldon of Pittsburg Conf.	3 96
	85 37
deduct postage	97
	\$84 40
Mr. Barnard, Chautauque county, New York,	5 75
Rev. Dr. Proudft, Salem, New York,	35 00
Rev. Alexander Scott, Chazy, Clinton county, New York,	8 00
H. N. Peck, 128 Front street, New York, Sabb. school collection,	4 00

Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

"Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

"Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

"Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

"Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

"Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

All collections or donations may be transmitted by mail, to Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D. Treasurer, Washington City, or to the Treasurer of any of the State Societies. The Treasurers of State or other Auxiliary Societies, with whom collections may be deposited, will please send to us the names of all clergymen by whom the collections were taken up, that they may be early supplied with the Repository.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to R. R. GUNLEY, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to JAMES C. DUNN, Washington, D. C.

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The African Repository

Can now be had, from its commencement, on application to the Publisher, or Mr. John Kennedy, Washington City, either bound or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the Society, in ten years, by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually, during that time. The following have already subscribed.

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